

# THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

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## THE FIRST INTERPRETER OF JESUS<sup>1</sup>

**I**N that famous art gallery at Munich, the Altes Pinakothek, the visitor may study two portraits of the Apostle of the Gentiles. In the saloon devoted to Flemish art hangs a large canvas by (or after) Peter Paul Rubens, which represents the two apostles whose names the artist bore. The picture is Rubenesque in conception and execution. Two ample figures stand side by side in the billowy folds of their gorgeous apparel. In the background are celestial forms and fleecy clouds. St. Peter is a majestic figure in his pride of port, one key in his raised right hand, the other supported against the left shoulder. In comparison, St. Paul is less imposing. His right hand rests on the hilt of his sword, which is nearly hidden from sight. His face is almost concealed beneath the mass of dark hair and beard. If St. Peter might be taken for a representation of Jove, St. Paul might not unfittingly stand for Vulcan. But when we pass into that narrow side gallery where in an alcove Dürer's famous painting of the Four Apostles arrests the eye, we know that here is the authentic artistic interpretation of the apostle who, more than any other man, saved Christianity from losing itself in a sect of Judaism. The figure is seen in profile. Of course the hilt of the sword is visible in the apostle's right hand, but the Bible, the Word of God, is far more prominently exposed to view in the other. Yet all else is soon forgotten but the face. Above the aquiline nose arches the broad, high brow, and the massive dome of the bald head. The flash of the deep-set eye pierces to the soul of him upon whom it is turned. This is indeed the great Christian thinker, the

<sup>1</sup> An address given at the Handsworth College Commemoration on Friday, Oct. 14, 1938.

missionary preacher and statesman, the resolute pioneer and the resourceful controversialist. This is the Paul of the missionary tours, the man who withstood even Peter to the face, who could not endure the vacillation of Barnabas, who repelled the Judaisers from Galatia, who rebuked the disorderly at Corinth, who declaimed the rolling periods of the Epistle to the Romans with a vehemence that often baffled the skill of the devoted Tertius.

But there was another Paul. If Dürer has not brought before our eyes the tender-hearted pastor, whose soul could find no rest until good news came from Corinth telling that reconciliation and peace had been won; who could turn away with heart-break even from the promise of a rich harvest in the gospel field at Troas until he had met Titus with the tidings that the mutiny at Corinth was over; who poured out his heart in tenderest affection to his generous and ever loyal friends at Philippi; if, I say, this man was not known to Dürer, the friend of Luther and one of the protagonists of the Protestant Reformation, let us turn from him to Rembrandt. In the imagination of that artist the Apostle has given him several sittings. Two portraits stand out most vividly. One is now at Stuttgart and shows St. Paul in prison. The sword is laid aside and leans against the corner of the bed under the barred window, through which a shaft of light shines upon the old missionary as he sits on his bed with a book upon his knees and a pen in his hand. The sandal has fallen from one foot, his right hand supports his chin. He is in a pensive attitude; the care of all the churches rests upon him; in his absence some are seeking to raise up affliction for him in his bonds. Yet he rejoices, for, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is being proclaimed. It is the same face that meets us in the portrait in the Hofmuseum at Vienna. There is the same massive head with the rumpled locks of snowy hair and the long, flowing white beard. Again, he has turned aside from a large book, and he holds a pen in his fingers. It is the face of a Christian Rabbi, a

benevolent scholar, and the deep furrows that line that kindly countenance tell of long and anxious thought, whilst the eyes are those of one who has seen far into the hidden mystery. This is Paul the aged, whose warfare is accomplished and who is ready to depart and be with Christ, which is far better, though he will wait a while, if the Lord will, that he may yet give some comfort and counsel to his children in the faith.

What is the true place in Christian history of this strangely complex character, with his changeful moods, his surging emotions, his tempestuous eagerness, his soaring imagination, his abysmal depression and his triumphant hope? When it pleased God to reveal His Son in Saul of Tarsus a religious genius was taken captive for the service of the new faith, who was destined to stamp his impress upon the Christian gospel and to influence profoundly the whole future course of Christian history.

Paul has been called 'the second founder of Christianity'. The title is, of course, a misnomer. Paul would have been horrified at such a suggestion. 'Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' And yet in the same breath he had said, 'According to the grace of God which was given unto me, as a wise master-builder I laid a foundation; and another buildeth thereon'. He was the Christopher Wren of that first age of missionary activity. His epitaph might well have been *Si Monumentum Requiris, Circumspice*. For at his death four great provinces of the Roman Empire abounded with churches of his foundation. He would have pointed to these as evidence of his abundant labours in the gospel, but would have declared that this gospel was one which he shared in common with all his brethren in the apostolate. He could thank God that with a few exceptions none of his Corinthian converts had been baptized by him personally, so that no one could now taunt him with having baptized into his own name. He desired no disciples of his own. It shocked him that he

should even be regarded as the figure-head of any party in the Church.

Paul the Apostle has been regarded as the 'second founder of Christianity' through the mistaken zeal of his admirers, and also by his severest critics, who hold him responsible for what they regard as his perversion of the simple Gospel of Jesus. The extravagant claims of his most devoted disciples are an exaggeration of Paul's undeniable services to the Christian Church. More than anyone else he was responsible for liberating the new movement from the cramping limitations of Jewish particularism and for giving Gentile Christianity a place in the sun. It was his rich mind that coined a new vocabulary to give Christian ideas a currency in the wider world of Hellenism. It was his ampler comprehension as a Roman citizen which enabled him to envisage a unity in diversity and to hold together the scattered churches of many provinces in a corporate fellowship with one another and with the mother church at Jerusalem. He taught Christians to think not parochially but imperially. He was the first great thinker in the Church to attempt to work out with some clarity and coherence the significance of the Person and Work of Jesus.

He was, of course, a man of his own time, and the very success with which he dealt with the needs of his contemporaries has been regarded by many as a grave misfortune for the Church of later centuries. The elaborate constructions devised by his ingenious mind, so it is often said, are an encumbrance to those who wish to interpret the simple teaching and example of Jesus of Nazareth in terms of present-day thought and requirement. It ought to be recognized without dispute that some of Paul's precepts have to do with contemporary conditions. But it is a pity that some of the more aggressive feminists speak with fury or contempt of the man who tried to save the Corinthian Church from scandal by warning his women converts against action that would be seriously misrepresented by their watchful

critics. His instinct often led him to give excellent advice, though when he tried to rationalize it we smile at the vulnerable points in his argument. It would be better to remember with gratitude the unassailable principle which he laid down, that 'in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female'. In the same way our impatient revolutionaries should bear it in mind that if Paul seems to accept slavery as part of the social fabric of the Roman Empire, in sending Onesimus back to Philemon he reminds the master that the slave is more than a slave, he is a brother beloved. This is simply a practical application of the supreme principle that 'in Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free'.

A more serious contention is that Paul has by his argumentation and his theological constructions distorted Christianity into something altogether different from the simple ethical religion taught by our Lord according to the Synoptic Gospels.

Two observations must be offered upon this hackneyed criticism. First, there never existed such a thing as a simple ethical form of the religion of Jesus. Christ's teaching is full of tremendous affirmations about God. He made unrivalled claims for Himself. The moral authority with which He spoke and acted sprang from a unique filial consciousness. He gathered to Himself the highest titles of ancient prophecy, but saw their culmination and fulfilment in the cross, to which every step on the path of filial obedience was taking the Son of Man. The problems with which Paul wrestles in his letters are the very questions which are raised for any but the most superficial readers of the Gospels. They were raised by the life and death, the teaching and the self-consciousness of that historic Figure against whom Saul of Tarsus fought with might and main until, when vanquished, he surrendered his sword to the Victor. Surely he was interpreting the central message of Jesus when he wrote: 'In Christ God was reconciling the world to himself'. The metaphors, the illustrations, the arguments which he used to bring home

this truth and all that it implied to the understanding of people in many cities who had never seen Jesus, served their immediate purpose well.<sup>1</sup> No doubt they have lost their cogency to those who live in our very different world. It is for us to recover by patient study the thought and experience which he expressed in terms derived from the everyday life of his time. Redemption, justification, adoption, sanctification and all the rest of his terminology, were familiar words drawn from the social, the legal, the religious vocabulary of the men who jostled him in the streets of Ephesus or Corinth. Our task is to 'depolarize' these terms (as Oliver Wendell Holmes said so long ago), and then in modern language to vitalize for our contemporaries the same truths which in the preaching of St. Paul brought so many into the living fellowship of Jesus Christ.

Secondly, the more carefully we study the letters of the Apostle the more clearly we must recognize that they are steeped in the ethic of Jesus. We might go through the Sermon on the Mount and with the aid of full marginal references find a Pauline echo of almost every verse. But the same experiment can be tried with passage after passage in which the Synoptic Gospels record the teaching of the Master.

We have no time now to draw up a list of parallels between the sayings of our Lord and the instruction of the Epistles. Paul Feine<sup>2</sup> in Germany and Anderson Scott<sup>3</sup> in this country have done that effectively. What is far more surprising is the total impression left on the mind of the Apostle by the personality of Jesus Christ. Two great scholars of the last generation, Johannes Weiss<sup>4</sup> and James Hope Moulton,<sup>5</sup> argued with great force that Paul must have seen and heard Jesus, especially during that last fateful week in Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup>The Relation of the Pauline theology to the teaching of Jesus cannot be treated within the limits of this article.

<sup>2</sup>*Jesus Christus und Paulus* (Leipzig, 1902).

<sup>3</sup>*Living Issues in the New Testament* (Cambridge, 1933).

<sup>4</sup>*Paul and Jesus* (Eng. Tr. Harper, 1909).

<sup>5</sup>*Expositor*, VIII, ii. pp. 16 ff.

This is indeed probable. But we must also bear in mind that Paul was in closest touch with those in Jerusalem who had been disciples of Jesus. Even when he watched them with a malignant interest he took knowledge of these simple folk that they had been with Jesus. And when, later on, the persecutor became a novice in the Christian society, he must have absorbed with eagerness every morsel of information that he could obtain about the bearing, the conversation, the disposition and the practice of Jesus. The result of all this is seen when the self-conscious Pharisee, the speculative Hellenist, the Roman citizen was proud to style himself the slave of Christ, and to glory in His cross.

Mr. Middleton Murry in his latest book<sup>1</sup> has clearly recognized both the central message of Jesus and the unerring spiritual instinct by which Paul has fastened upon it in his teaching. 'The religion of Jesus', he writes, 'is not a religion of wisdom, but first and last a religion of Love: or rather it is a religion which declares that, finally, the only wisdom is to love. St. Paul, however unlike he may have been to Jesus, did not fail to grasp the simple secret of his Master's teaching.' He then quotes words from the hymn of love in 1 Corinthians xiii. and continues: 'Insight and inspiration are darkened, knowledge is superseded, but love alone is infallible. . . . It grows ever more lucid to my imagination that what is truly enduring in human history is that which has grown from the element of self-surpassing love which has found its way into human action: so that the judgement of love and the judgement of history are ultimately the same. That which satisfies the judgement of love completely—the life and death of Christ—is more and more revealed to be the supremely significant and operative event in history, the only light by which the darkness of the world to-day is fully illumined as what it is. To-day we cannot know where we are, or what we are, save through the love of Christ. That is the final clue to history and to ourselves.'

<sup>1</sup> *Heaven—and Earth*, p. 250. (Cape, 10s. 6d.)

That is well said. It is a modern paraphrase of what St. Paul says in such passages as 'The love of Christ constraineth us'; 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?' or that verse in the Epistle to the Colossians which sets the cross of Christ in its cosmic relation to the powers of evil, the course of history and the ultimate purpose of God. But the paradox of love both in the Gospels and in the Epistles lies in the victory of the cross. It is the Suffering Servant who reigns from the tree. The virtues which are raised to divine dignity are humility, patience, gentleness, compassion, forgiveness. It is one of Paul's chief titles to the enduring gratitude of the Christian Church that he saw this so clearly and established this new standard of moral values wherever the gospel of the cross was proclaimed. The new revelation of God was found in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. His final appeal, when struggling with intractable self-will and defiant arrogance, was to the 'gentleness and the sweet reasonableness' (or magnanimity) 'of Christ'.

To many of us this may seem unanswerable. But it is by no means self-evident. No fiercer onslaught has ever been made upon the Christian morality than that of Nietzsche,<sup>1</sup> and his wildest vituperation is reserved for St. Paul,<sup>2</sup> whom he describes as 'the appalling impostor',<sup>3</sup> 'impudent wind-bag'.<sup>4</sup> The main charge against him is that he has made a religion out of the cross, and that the reason for this exaltation of the symbol of defeat lies in a morbid instinct for revenge.<sup>5</sup> 'Christianity is built upon the rancour of the sick; its instinct is directed *against* the sound, against health. Everything well-constituted, proud, high-spirited, and beautiful is offensive to its ears and eyes.'<sup>6</sup> 'What is more harmful

<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche* (Authorized English Translation in 18 vols., T. N. Foulis, 1909-13).

<sup>2</sup> See especially *The Antichrist* (Works, vol. xvi, pp. 183-5, 223).

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, p. 204.

than any vice? Practical sympathy with the botched, and the weak—Christianity.<sup>1</sup> 'Christianity is called the religion of pity. Pity is opposed to the tonic passions which enhance the energy of the feeling of life; its action is depressing. A man loses power when he pities.'<sup>2</sup> 'Christianity is the revolt of all things that crawl on their bellies against everything that is lofty: the gospel of the "lowly" lowers . . .'<sup>3</sup>

The coarseness of such criticism<sup>4</sup> may blind us to the fact not only that it anticipated some of the less reputable anti-Christian propaganda in Nietzsche's own country to-day, but that from the very beginning of Christian history the scandal of the cross has been found in the ethic of the gospel as much as in its theology.

Just as Paul bears the brunt of Nietzsche's maniacal attack on the distinctive moral teaching of Christianity, so must we give him full credit for preserving and underlining the most difficult elements in the message which Jesus bequeathed to His followers.

In this connexion there are two striking characteristics in St. Paul's loyalty to his Master which seem to have been generally overlooked. They both illustrate the virility of the love of Christ, and show how far removed it is from spineless sentimentality.

First, Paul had learned from Jesus that there are moral problems in the exercise of forgiveness from which there is no line of retreat. No one who heard Peter's question about the number of times that he was to forgive his brother would be likely to forget the answer.<sup>5</sup> There is an inexorable insistence upon patient continuance in hopefulness. It does not

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 187. And yet Nietzsche shows some perception of the mind of Jesus, p. 174. For a violent tirade against the New Testament see *The Genealogy of Morals* (Works, vol. xiii, p. 188).

<sup>4</sup> For a more dignified contrast between 'master-morality' and 'slave-morality', see *Beyond Good and Evil* (Works, vol. xii, p. 227 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xviii. 21 f.

matter whether the word should be translated 'seventy-seven times' or 'seventy times seven'. The habit of forgiveness will have been acquired long before the lower figure is reached. But the parable which follows, to drive the lesson home, assumes a desire for forgiveness on the part of the debtor. Now this leads the way back to our Lord's treatment of the practical problem of the truculent aggressor who persistently disturbs the harmonious fellowship of the common life. 'If thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three, every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it to the congregation: and if he refuse to hear the congregation also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican.'<sup>1</sup> Every effort is to be made by personal approach to break down the barrier of misunderstanding. If individual effort should fail, then others are to be brought in, that conference may achieve what dialogue cannot do. If the method of private conference is ineffective, then an appeal must be made to public opinion that under the moral pressure of the whole community the delinquent may be brought to a better frame of mind. Should that last resource fail then persuasion must yield to discipline. There is a point beyond which tolerance becomes immoral. The offender must cease to enjoy the privileges of membership. Excommunication follows automatically.

I need not remind you that many critics of the Gospels find in this section of Matthew a fragment of early Christian Church order read back on to the lips of Jesus. But I can see no reason to dismiss it in that way. For one thing the Aramaic word that would be used has not the developed ecclesiastical sound which we attach to the word 'church'. In the second place the closing words which are a stumbling block to the modern reader may also have been an offence

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xviii. 15-17

to the other evangelists, so that Matthew alone has preserved the saying. But it is in those very words that I find the ring of authenticity. There is that very note of paradox or playful irony which we should expect in words spoken by Jesus to His disciples. They would start and stare at such harsh words, until they saw that smile which hovered in His eyes as He watched their amazement. For what was His own attitude to foreigners and outcasts? How had He taught them to behave to publicans and sinners, to Gentiles and Samaritans, and to all who stood outside the family circle of the children of God? They were not to be ostracized but to be won into the fellowship. One of the bitterest charges against Jesus was this, 'He eateth with publicans and sinners'. In other words the recalcitrant must not be allowed to disrupt the little community of the brethren. But when by his own unsocial behaviour he had forfeited the privilege of membership the hardest task of all began. He had to be won back to a desire for reinstatement. The self-indulgent son in the parable had to be left to his own devices. But when in the far country he grew weary of the husks and thought of the home that he had left so recklessly, the Father was waiting to go forth to meet the returning prodigal and to welcome him back, and restore him to his lost place in the home. It was with reference to a publican that Jesus said, 'The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost'.

Now let us turn to the Corinthian Epistles to see how St. Paul took up this principle and applied it in two difficult situations. The first case was one in which a flagrant instance of immorality that shocked even a pagan's sense of decency, was being tolerated by the easy-going community of Christians. The Apostle dealt with it resolutely. The Church was to meet in solemn session, conscious of the presence in all His power of the Lord in whose name they were assembled and remembering that the Apostle was with them in sympathy and in moral support. They must excommunicate

this hardened sinner. In the outer darkness, deprived of protection from the haunting fear of demons, he may find room for penitence and his soul may be saved.<sup>1</sup>

Later on another disturber of the peace defied the apostolic authority. He appears to have treated with contempt Paul's emissary, the gentle Timothy, and to have created so dangerous a situation in the local church that Paul made a flying visit from Ephesus to Corinth to deal with the ring-leader. It is uncertain whether at this critical moment Paul was prostrated with one of his recurrent attacks of malaria, or whether his policy of conciliation was misrepresented as a sign of weakness. Possibly every gracious concession was made the occasion for some fresh demand uttered in language more insolent and uncompromising. Paul returned, smarting under a sense of frustration. Was he to leave the situation to go from bad to worse, and for the sake of personal ease to allow the unity of the Church to be imperilled, and for anarchy to reign throughout the mission field? Some might recommend such moral cowardice and attach the label of a Christian virtue to give it respectability. Not so St. Paul. He was not duped by Satan masquerading as an angel of light. He wrote to Corinth, using all his resources of mind and heart to rally the latent loyalty in the Church. He sent this letter by the hand of his trustiest lieutenant. We know how anxiously he awaited the issue, and how overjoyed he was when Titus brought back word that public opinion had become conscious of its moral power and had swiftly dethroned the blatant demagogue. But we hear no shout of triumph from the Apostle. Now that discipline has been restored and the Christian law re-established his one concern is for the welfare of his unscrupulous opponent, who is now in danger of drifting out of the Christian fellowship, a humiliated and embittered rebel. They must not deal too harshly with him, but must incorporate him with self-respect in the life of the community which he has so recently almost

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. v. 1-8.

wrecked by his vain pretensions.<sup>1</sup> It is the same Paul who wrote to the Galatians, 'Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of gentleness; looking to thyself, lest thou also be tempted'. Can there be any doubt from whom the Apostle learnt this lesson?

The second characteristic in Paul's loyalty to his Master which has so constantly been overlooked must be studied in connexion with the charge often made that his strong self-assertions savour of an un-Christlike egotism. It is one of the outstanding merits of Professor F. C. Porter's book, *The Mind of Christ in Paul*, that he has shown the real motive which lies behind that insistence upon his claims as an apostle. 'In Paul's view those who accused him, whether of being a weak and despicable person because of the lowliness and hardship of his life, or of being self-seeking in his underlying motives, not only hurt him but denied the truth of his gospel. If a life of lowliness and self-sacrifice is to be despised, then Christ was mistaken and Christianity is not true. Paul became Christian through his vision that the humility, suffering and shame of Christ were acts of love, a revelation of the love of God, and belonged therefore not to things weak and foolish and false, as he had supposed, but to the power and wisdom of God.'<sup>2</sup>

We must see, then, that in those very chapters in which the casual reader seems to hear the voice of an ambitious claimant, we have rather the passionate assertion of the royal claims of Him who humbled Himself and became obedient even unto death, and that a death upon a cross. It is nothing less than the authenticity of that portrait of Christ, placarded in His preaching and sung in His hymns, which is at stake. If Paul's doctrine of the cross, lived out in apostolic example, is to be derided and held in scorn, then the only Christ whom he knows has been rejected. He is being crucified afresh in His own Church.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. ii. 5-11.

<sup>2</sup> p. 31.

Let us not forget how astonishing that gospel was to the Gentile world. Some of you will remember that Boswellian passage in Morley's *Life of Gladstone*.<sup>1</sup> They were discussing Greek ethical terms and Mr. Gladstone was extolling the Greeks for their noble qualities, when he added, 'I admit there is no Greek word of good credit for the virtue of humility'. John Morley suggested 'ταπεινότης? But that has an association of meanness'. 'Yes', replied Mr. Gladstone, 'a shabby sort of humility. Humility as a sovereign grace is the creation of Christianity.'

But the first man who made that known with the flaming zeal of a missionary was Saul who came from Tarsus, home of that proud Stoic creed that never bowed the head, though bludgeoned by adversity. And Paul wrote his letters before the earliest of our Gospels was written. Those Gospels arose in answer to the eager interest of the Church in many lands. Is it too much to claim that when they were published to the world their readers recognized the portrait as that of One, whom not having seen they loved, in whom they rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory? For Jesus Christ, Jesus the crucified, was both the one foundation and the chief corner stone of the apostolic Church.

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<sup>1</sup> Edition in 2 vols. ii. 706.

## THE MORE IN MAN

**M**Y article, too short for the general terms of its title, is but a supplement to my previous contributions in this journal during this decade made from the field where-with my married name is associated: the study of early Buddhism. I wish in it to tell readers of a figure or parable ascribed in the Pali Canon to the founder of Buddhism, but, so far as I have seen, entirely overlooked by Buddhists and by writers on Buddhism. The context may be known, if not to the former, at least to the latter (who are inquiring where the former are just accepting). But the monk-editors, in compiling their discourses or 'Suttas' out of a mass of oral materials, have often presented it confusedly, as I shall show. Namely, the figure was uttered to make clearer point X, but it has been applied as illustrating point Y. There are many of these evasions in the Suttas. The editors, compiling centuries after the lifetime of the founder, left in many venerable sayings, but some of these would be teachings which the much changed values of the editors no longer held in worth, and somehow they had to be got past. I had long known this, the 'Middle', collection of Suttas, but had not, till recently, gone carefully into this muddled presentation.

In those previous articles and in many books I have tried to show, that the Sakyan teaching (as Buddhism was long called in India) started on the basis of the religious teaching of its day, of Immanence, namely, the seeing in the spirit, in the soul, in the self the very Being, potential only, of Deity, (and had sought to show how by the life, the conduct alone, could that potential become actual), and how it gradually drifted, borne by other currents of thought, till it came to see in spirit, soul, self, not the immanent More of highest promise in our personality, but a Less, and finally even a Not, a Non-ens. Now the neglected figure I am about to

cite supports that earlier, that original teaching, and condemns the later, the present view.

Readers will concede, that for a corrected history of early Buddhism this is a matter not lacking in interest. I would go further, and have it, and what it points to in religion generally, take hold not of students of Buddhism only but our friend Everyman. For not with Buddhists only do we find a lack of clear view as to what is the More in any of us. I was walking lately toward a hall of meeting with a venerable and distinguished scholar, and he remarked (I forget in consequence of what) in merry vein: 'I have heard it said, that Mohammedans do not allow women have souls, but I am beginning to think they are wrong.' 'Well,' I rejoined, 'I don't think they are wrong.' 'What?' he gasped, 'you agree?' 'Yes,' I said, 'women *are* souls; they don't *have* souls. You're surely not prepared to admit, that you carry a soul about you, just like a note in a breastpocket? It is you who own, as soul, what you have.' And we entered.

I am not contending that my scholar would not have worded the matter soundly enough in serious vein. Worded it as many English colleagues would, e.g. Dr. Paterson Smyth in the fine chapter on 'I' of his *Gospel of the Hereafter*, or Canon Newbolt, in his 'perfection lies in developing what we are' (not what we have).<sup>1</sup> But I do maintain that our ordinary wording of what we are is too often expressed as confusedly, as erroneously as in my scholar's jesting allusion. For instance, are we not constantly speaking, reading, of a deceased John M. or Mary N, being buried there or then? Is it not high time that all we, who would ward what is true, should be less careless? Can we afford to go on with careless speech?

The figure I refer to is in a talk alleged to have been held between Gotama, called later 'Buddha', and a Jain controversialist, named Sacchāka. In this the latter makes the assertion, that the self, the very man, the potentially divine

<sup>1</sup> *Priestly Blemishes*, p. 153.

in man, is none other than his body and mind. He was probably trying to draw admissions from Gotama, since the Jains did not confuse the man with his properties; he was out to win in debate, not to give his own convictions.

Now, if Gotama's view had been that which became, after his day and down to the present day, orthodox Buddhism of the Hīnayāna kind, he would have surely endorsed strongly the assertion of the Jain. So have I seen it separately endorsed, in letters to me and in print by Buddhists of Ceylon. If a man, they have said, isn't just body and mind (or they would, in terms of their scholastic teaching, call it: just the five groups, bodily and mental), 'whatever more can he be? There's no other "soul" or "self" than these'. Even yesterday only, I read in a Buddhist magazine by a very 'orthodox' ex-pupil of mine: 'so and so agrees with Mrs. Rh. D. . . . who holds that the great teacher of the not-self was a teacher of the self.'

But no! Gotama does nothing of the kind. And he cites this figure or parable—the way of most Indian teachers. 'See here! Are you contending that "I" am body, that "I" am anything you call mind?' The answer is: 'Yes, I am, and so say all present.' 'Never mind what all present would say,' is the retort (and we seem here to get a fleeting glimpse of the very man himself); 'be you your own disputant. What say you? Would a king like him of Kosāla, or him of Magādhā have power within his own realm to put to death, fine, or exile those of his subjects deserving such punishment?' Answer: 'Yes, he would, and so would the heads of republics have, like the Vajjians and Mallas. He would have, and he ought to have, such power.' (Let it be noted here, that in the older books, there is no judicial head other than the ruler.) Gotama: 'Well then, when you say, that you are the same as your body, or your mind, have you, as such, power over either to make them become or not become what you will?'

Sacchaka is silent; he doubtless sees to what he has

committed himself, sees it better than our modern Buddhist. Urged to speak, he says, 'No'.

Now the usual Indian way of 'clinging the argument' would be for Gotama to continue: 'You grant your king, (who in India was also judge) is, as rightly having this power, *more than an ordinary subject*. But if you make him out to be an ordinary subject, you thereby take from him his kingship, and make him no more than his subject. Body and mind are your subjects, in that you do have over them a certain amount of power to use them as you will. Hence are you *more* than is either of them. Hence can you not be the same as they.'

But instead of this direct application, we get first a 'church'-formula and then the king-argument applied to the subject of 'ill', wherewith Buddhism became so hag-ridden, so monk-ridden. Thus: 'Body and mind are, you admit, ill (that is, one in nature with ill, pain, misery). If then you are body and mind, and not other, not more than they, can you who have thus gone wholly over to ill either understand it or get rid of it?'

This way of applying the analogy is indirect and hence possibly wrongly chronicled. Yet it is also one that Buddhists and 'verts, who see in Gotama's teaching what I have called a mere doctor-gospel, should ponder over, when they come more thoroughly to study their scriptures. The founder of a world-religion, an historical religion, will not have been one who was out to tell man how to avoid his earthly birth-right of old age, illness and dying. As a disciple said of him: 'he taught me more than that.'

The application rightly is, that, as spirit (*attā*), man is more than his instruments. User is he of them, valuer by them, experiencer through them. The Western idioms, Greek, Latin and Teutonic, with their possessive pronouns 'my', 'your', have lamentably helped us, in Scripture and elsewhere, to appropriate as 'mine', that who is 'I', and make soul, self, spirit a mere appanage, as were It body or

mind-ways. Perhaps there is no greater lesson India has to teach us than this discarding of a possessive term in the case of not the possessed, but the possessor. In the frequent phrase: *na me attā*, it is just as accurate to render *me* by '(It is) not for me the self', as to make the pronoun *me* mean 'my'. Anyway this is how a few of we Pali translators have recently rendered it.

And surely it is with a different outlook that we regard soul, spirit, self, 'I', the moment we cease to speak of *having a soul*. Buddhism has ruined itself as religion by *denying that the man is soul or spirit*, as a more than body or mind. How much may we not have hurt our own religious tradition by *affirming that he has one*, instead of rightly maintaining that *he is one*?

We are each of us in religion seekers after a More, a Better, a Higher, these implying an ultimate Most, Best, Highest. Is it not of the first importance that we get it clear and clearly expressed what of us is here and now the More who seeks, who seeks as having instruments—body, mind, character—('character' is but the impress we leave on what we do) but who is More than any of these?

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## FROGS IN A WELL

**F**OR East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet!' That jingling verdict, so easy to repeat, so unprovocative of thought, by importing a fictitious glamour, by suggesting mystery where no mystery exists, has done much to obscure the persistent commonplace, the insistent similarity that marks the Human group whether in tribal isolation or totalitarian State, whether yellow, white or black. The poet struck a truer note, a major note indeed, although it shocked Victorian gentility, when he sang, happy in his thought, that 'Colonels' ladies and Judy O'Gradies are sisters under their skin', that, in fact, as we might phrase it in a less caste-conscious age, the Memsahib and her Ayah meet on the ground of their common charm!

But, minarets in an Eastern sky, those 'old Moulmein pagodas' are tricky lures on a romantic's road, and tempt imagination to run riot; and so we find the singer once again exuberantly wistful for the coast of Malabar, for shipment 'East of Suez where the best is like the worst; where there ain't no Ten Commandments, and a man can raise a thirst!' And, in nostalgic contemplation of that Oriental freedom, forget, we may suppose (as the poet surely did!) those Tables of the Law that came, engraved on Asian stone, in elemental clamour to the crest of Mount Sinai! The austere tradition of an Eastern desert, fruitful, even in aridity, of high, significant events, was silenced in the tinkle of a banjo.

Kipling, the versifier, not the poet whose mastery of the True Romance is enshrined for ever in the imperishable 'Kim', was, in the superficialities, the claptrap I have quoted, no more than a campfollower of that army of writers, lecturers and travellers, many of them so often of the 'tip and run' variety, who insist on the mysterious glamour of the East; or, the glamorous mystery of the Orient; or, the strange and mystic message of the Pamirs; or, the poignant purity of

Fujiyama high in the perfumed air of Dai Nippon! Or any other one of a thousand and one meretricious variations of the concocted theme. The glycerine tears of a film star lured to the den of an impossible Mandarin are not more unreal.

It is not possible to assess the damage done to common understanding as between East and West by such romantical gimcrackery, but we may measure it in some degree if we contrast two pictures of Japan: one, the unwavering materialist framed in history; the other, that usual, impressionistic daub of Nippon, fragile, smiling, virginal, daintily engaged in play with cherry bloom and fan.

There is a cold responsiveness, a sensitiveness mechanical as that of a photographic plate to the stimulus of light, which has earned for Japan, too easily I think, a certain odium as a copyist, a mere imitator of her betters, but which, as one result of the forces that have moulded the national mentality, is of far deeper significance than the superficial mark it may have made on the everyday life of the World. We may trace this quality to its source, perhaps, by a short excursion among the salient events of Japanese history and the personalities directing them. Most important of the purely spiritual was the advent in A.D. 502 of Buddhism, which, in less than half a century had become the established church, and for six hundred years was at the centre of an admirable vitality, mental and physical, a highly sophisticated society, which the lively pen of Sei Shonagon, a lady of the Imperial Court in the tenth century, has enshrined in her famous 'Pillow Book', or Diary. Sei Shonagon, a contemporary of that great novelist, the Lady Murasaki, gives us a charming picture of life in old Japan as lived by the 'Upper Ten', a *fin de siècle* life, naughtily sophisticated, prettily amateurish in the arts, brightly amoral in its love affairs. That Vanity Fair existence culminated in a government by portfolio, a despotic Civil Service or Bureaucracy recruited solely from the members of one family or clan, the Fujiwara, whose daughters, too, provided consorts for the Emperors. This

pleasant family party, however, was rudely interrupted in the twelfth century by a military *coup d'état*, which, after a long drawn-out and ferocious civil war, produced a totalitarian society, a canalized psychology rigid beyond the wildest dreams of up-to-date dictatorship. The victorious swash-bucklers, anxious to reward the more energetic and whole-hearted of their captains, instituted what we may term an Order of Chivalry, a Legion of Honour which was in effect a network of feudal baronies; and these in turn cohered behind a powerful military leader, Yoritomo, founder of the Shôgunate, whose successor in the seventeenth century, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, established a reigning dynasty and became a portentous figure in the history of his nation, a social and political craftsman who set his mark on generations yet to come.

Standing amid the ruins of a decadent civilization, Iyeyasu, the totalitarian militarist, set up a brand new god, the great god Status Quo, whose worship was a remorseless denial of any refreshment, stimulus or support that might tempt or help the national intelligence to look out on wide horizons. His ideal was a nation chained to the unchanging, a nation stereotyped in a naked round of marriage, birth and death, 'a People like Frogs in a Well!' as a proverb of the Japanese themselves has said. This policy, to preserve the native intelligence from any but domestic influence, was directed with an extraordinary intensity of purpose. So rigorous was its embargo on fresh thought, so wide its scope, that even a Japanese sailor wrecked on some foreign shore found the utmost difficulty in re-entering his native land, for he might bring with him that unclean thing—a new idea; and so become a danger to the State. To guard against such danger Iyeyasu—forerunner, surely, of the racial ideologist—maintained 'a rigid and cunningly devised system of espionage', as a Japanese historian writing in the Victorian era said of it, adding: 'It held everyone in the community in dread and suspicion; not only the most powerful Daimyo, but the

meanest retainer was subject to its sway; and the ignoble quality of deception became a national characteristic.'

It is a tragic fact that the first teachers of the gentle gospel, the heralds in the Orient of Peace on Earth, Goodwill toward Men, should all unwittingly have stimulated this cruelty of isolation in medieval Japan. The Spanish Jesuits, saturated in the politico-religious atmosphere of their sixteenth-century day, the vanguard of a Church militant whose spear-head was Imperial Spain (at that time flamboyant in the Philippines and, so, Japan's near neighbour) sent missionaries who, using the idiom of theocracy, more apt, one fears, to emphasize the universal overlordship of the Papacy, from whom the Emperors took power, than to stress the piercing simplicities of Jesus—these teachers not unnaturally perhaps aroused suspicion that Christianity might well become the cloak of conquest and bring not peace but a sword. The reaction was immediate, and when, in the next century, Iyeyasu assumed power, became Shogun (a title that may be translated as 'Great Leader Who Destroys Barbarians') he inaugurated a ferocious persecution of the very numerous Christian converts in the islands, a persecution that continued during the Shôgunate of his son, and almost sealed-up Nippon from the world. But one slight line of communication with the West remained, the Dutch traders who, fifty or sixty years before, had introduced the firearm to Japan where the new weapon was given an enthusiastic welcome and trade in it officially encouraged. There is an ironic touch in the fact that it was these same Dutch traders who brought the earliest missionaries to Japan. The guns were welcomed but the men of peace eventually were banned!

Freedom of thought has been a frequent target for despotic rulers or violently dogmatic creeds throughout the ages, but never before had the divine peculiarity of the individual soul, the sanctity of the individual mind in personal adventure been so bereft. To-day became the only Good, the Past became a blank; there was no history to fertilize the minds

of men, no intellectual speculation in a Life not made with hands—only a People blindfold before the shape of things to come, a Nation sterilized in a ceaseless dawn—'Frogs in a Well!'

But, frogs in a well may sometimes see the stars! and here and there in that dead uniformity, the Buddhist shrines kept clear the path of dreams, became, indeed, the homes of beautiful and tender visions, the daily scenes of acts of Faith and Love where quiet souls might find refreshment and forget, in contemplation, the Captains and the Kings.

But the material world outside those temple gates, superficial in conformity, powerless to originate, moved onwards to its second rude awakening which was the birth pang of the Power we know to-day—the arrival at Uraga in 1854 of Commodore Perry with his squadron of American ships of war. The 'knocking at the gate' in Macbeth! For good or ill, the Stars and Stripes eclipsed the Rising Sun, and Western thought and Western ways came flooding to the East. Is it any wonder, is it least of all a cause of criticism, of facile jeers at 'Copyists', that the sensitive life of isolationist Japan, for centuries unspotted from the World, should have responded to that impetus, that sudden introduction to the fascinating 'new'? Is it wonderful that the fresh, the almost virgin soil of Japanese mentality, vulnerable as the childish mind is vulnerable to a startling event, should have proved a fruitful ground for new ideas, an ideal medium of reproduction, of unoriginal virtuosity, if only in a photographic sense; should have, in fact, developed that superb adaptability which in a time-space ludicrously short was to place her on a level with her tutors?

Within half a century of that American 'visitation', Dai Nippon made her bow on the World's stage. It was an astoundingly effective entry, a *coup de théâtre*, unpremeditated, unrehearsed—the spectacular defeat on the Asian mainland of a great Western Power. A glorious welcome for a new recruit to the Old World's barrack-square! Is it strange, one

asks again, that since the fateful day when Tsarist Russia staggered back from Mukden, the artificial Western dawn should have dazzled the Rising Sun, that a fungus growth of change should spring to greet it, a fury of adoption and adaption shake the land?

A curious innocence marked some aspects of the change, a guilelessness of imitation that produced grotesque results, as of children playing 'Grown-ups'. I have seen, for instance, a Japanese actor as Othello, garbed in a dreadful mixture of the East and West. He wore a rusty bowler hat, a frockcoat of ancient lineage over a flowery kimono, white flannel trousers turned up and spats and Japanese footgear! O, cruel Moor! indeed. And Desdemona rivalled him in a shirtwaist untied above the native sash, the *Obi*, its two tapes flying loose as she tripped about the stage; and a little hat, an Alexandra toque, a bunch of artificial violets on its crown, completed the *ensemble*. Thus, grotesque, yet pitifully *young*, they staged the death scene, while a gramophone on a bamboo stand by Desdemona's bedside creaked out a popular ditty of that day,

O! break the news to Mother  
And tell her how I love her,  
And kiss her dear sweet face for me,  
For I'm not coming home.

A gruesome sacrifice of native sensibility at the feet of a Western god. But Western weapons won her war against a Western Power, so Western art and Western goods must glorify the victory.

The war with Russia was not, of course, Japan's first overseas adventure, but her invasion of Korea in A.D. 221 in the palmy days of the Empress Jingo, that Gloriana of Japan at whose shrine succeeding generations of her warriors vowed themselves to honourable deeds and whose name has given us an epithet for imperialistic blatancy—that adventure of the third century, the naval expedition in 1874 to Formosa, the occupation of the Luchow Islands in 1879, those gestures

of a potential 'worldliness' need mention only in so slight a sketch as this. Nor need we linger over the wars of the Shôgunate, that Japanese variant of the English Wars of the Roses, whose Bosworth Field was dated 1868, four and a quarter centuries after Richard Crookback cried: 'A horse! a horse! My Kingdom for a horse!' But, as in England, so in Japan, that civil strife produced a like result—the destruction of the feudal baronies and the exaltation of the Throne. There were renewals in Japan of ancient loyalties, not least among them as a reinforcement of the monarchy, a revival of Shinto, the Way of the Gods (Kami no Michi), that strange indigenous 'religion' of Japan that has no ethical or doctrinal code, no canon law or priestcraft, and small concern with immortalities; which confines its meagre ritual to a ceremonial politeness towards the shades of emperors and heroes, mainly expressed by trivial offerings made in temples bare of ornament or by pilgrimage to old shrines. A dull road, surely, to a field of wider vision, but pregnant none the less of inspiration for a certain quality of mind. For the Emperor, direct descendant of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, is semi-deified and his People, his children, therefore are 'Children of the Gods' charged with a messianic mission to the world.

This concept of a Heavenly nativity, suggestive of Mazzini's 'mystic soul of nationhood, which may be worshipped and served as an emanation of the deity', suggestive, too, of the Hegelian State, 'an absolute, a self-knowing, a self-actualizing individual', makes of Shinto less a revelation than an instrument of State, more definitely, an instrument of national propaganda that might become Islamic in its fervour, the germ of a *Jehad* or Holy War.

A violent, active pride in racial particularity is an indigestible ingredient of the Universal dish. The Aryan idiocy of Nazi Germany has made that nation bilious, and in Japan a corner of the cloak of patriotism covers a festering sore, the secret societies, afloat on a subterranean stream of jingoism, who have enlisted murder in the 'service' of the State.

In their own eyes, they are watchdogs of the Empire, guardians of the Common Man, super-Patriots who slay (Honourable Assassins!) that the Land may be exalted. Their readiness to pay the piper, for choice by way of hara-kiri, has achieved for them a high, if hidden, place in national esteem. There is, for instance, the famous case of the late Count Okuma, a Liberal Statesman on whose life an attempt was made. The bomb exploded prematurely, killing the would-be assassin, while the Count escaped with a wound. A public memorial was raised to the dead man and was unveiled by—Count Okuma himself! The mentality, individual and collective, which made such an extravaganza possible may astound us, but anything may happen where emotion transcends its manifestation, where motive exonerates the act. Could we picture the Primrose League prepared to bomb Mr. Chamberlain along the path of violent Imperialism, the comparison would not be overdrawn, and might help us to understand the situation in which Japanese statesmen strive to-day,—a militarized policy enclosed in a feverish, a self-destructive industrialism, lacking a rural background, lacking a friendly market, lacking raw materials, a mechanical Empire lacking an Imperial domain.

It is impossible not to sympathize in some degree even in the face of the obvious menace, the more especially as we it was who so greatly tempted her to Westernize her ways. Once, she worshipped isolation and—the World heaped merchandise on her scornful shoulders! the merchandise she would return to-day an hundredfold. Bread upon the waters of the Inland Sea! But, 'a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds', and that adaptability which now threatens us may yet put back the clock and revive an ancient culture of the Orient, its colour, charm and quietude rooted in the soil. A happy day for all the world.

H. E. REDMOND

## THE THEOLOGY OF DR. ANDREW MARTIN FAIRBAIRN

### I

**A**NDREW MARTIN FAIRBAIRN was born at Inverkeithing, Fife, on November 4, 1838: and the centenary of his birth seems to offer a fitting occasion to recall his services to the Christian Church as preacher and teacher, and to estimate the value of his contributions to Christian theology. A few facts about his life, which Dr. W. B. Selbie, his successor in the Principalship of Mansfield College, has recorded in his biography may be mentioned. He was brought up in a genuinely Christian home, and owed much to his mother and his grandfather through her. His parents belonged to the Secession (Presbyterian Calvinistic Church) but under the influence of an older brother, he became a member of an Evangelical Union Church in Leith; when he resolved to become a minister, he received his training in its Seminary, which he entered in 1857, about ten years after leaving school. The Evangelical Union was composed of a number of churches, under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. James Morison, who rebelled against the dominant Calvinism and taught the three universalities, that God loves all, that Christ died for all, and that the Holy Spirit strives in all. While all his life Dr. Fairbairn showed his affection for Scottish Presbyterianism, and his appreciation of the greatness of John Calvin, he accepted, expounded and vindicated that theology of *universal divine grace*. By heroic labours he overcame the handicap of his defective elementary education, and in his two pastorates at Bathgate (1860-1872) and Aberdeen (1872-1877) he amassed the 'prodigious' learning, and gained the reputation as a theologian, which led to his appointment to the Principalship of Airedale College, Bradford. So high was the esteem in which

he was held, and so great the influence that he had gained, that, when it was decided to establish a Congregational College in Oxford, open to students of other denominations, he was selected in 1885 to lead in the bold venture. He removed to Oxford in 1886, and continued as the Principal of Mansfield College till his retirement in 1909. The confidence thus shown to him was fully justified, and the position the college gained in Oxford and the country was mainly due to his labours. The College stands as his abiding monument. There can be no doubt that his sacrificial service for the College prevented his rendering a still more valuable contribution to Christian theology. He did not long survive his retirement, but passed peacefully away in February 1912.

(2) His first book, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, appeared in 1876; and the range of his studies is indicated in the titles of the four essays of which it was composed: (a) The Idea of God, its Genesis and Development, (b) Theism and Scientific Speculation, (c) The Belief in Immortality, (d) The Place of the Indo-European and Semitic Races in History. While these titles indicate, as it were, the circumference of his interest, its centre is shown in his second book, *Studies in the Life of Christ*, which appeared in 1880 and was probably the most popular of all his writings. In 1883 appeared *The City of God*, a volume of miscellaneous content. In 1884 he gave a series of apologetic lectures to working men in Bradford, and published them under the title, *Religion in History and in the Life of To-day*. These were republished with an essay on 'The Church and the Working Classes', under the slightly modified title, *Religion in History and in Modern Life*, in 1894. Much of the contents of these earlier volumes appeared as articles in *The Contemporary Review* or *The Expositor*; to the former he began to contribute in 1871, and to the latter in 1876. How absorbing and exacting were his labours in the founding of Mansfield College is surely indicated by the long interval between this publication in 1884 and the next in 1893,

*The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, which some would regard as his *magnum opus*. Book I is *Historical and Critical* and deals with 'The Law of Development in Theology and the Church, and with Historical Criticism and the History of Christ'. Book II is *Theological and Constructive*, and deals with 'The New Testament Interpretation of Christ, Christ the Interpretation of God, and God as interpreted by Christ the determinative principle in Theology and the Church'. A volume of sermons, *Christ in the Centuries*, appeared in 1893 also. A series of articles begun in 1885 in *The Contemporary Review* on various aspects of Catholicism, was published in 1899 under the title, *Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*. It was the Oxford Movement, and especially Newman, that evoked his severest criticism. The book, for which I have a preference as his best, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, appeared in 1902. Book I is *philosophical* and deals with nature, ethics, the problem of evil, history and religion. Book II is *historical* and treats the Person of Christ and the Making of the Christian Religion. In his last book, *Studies in Religion and Theology*, published in 1910, he brings together material of widely separated dates, varied in character, and of varying value. This includes his addresses as Chairman of the Union of England and Wales in 1883, and some New Testament studies of his later years. In these addresses he shows himself as an uncompromising and challenging Protestant, Free Churchman, and Congregationalist.

## II

While I preserve my proper 'piety' for a loved and honoured teacher, to whom I owe more than I can express, I can discharge my duty to my readers only by candour in attempting an estimate of the value of his contribution to Christian theology.

(1) What amazed those who came into contact with Dr. Fairbairn was the wide range of his learning and the deep

reach of his thinking. Another quality which marked him was his spacious eloquence in speech and writing. Sometimes when the inspiration flagged, the eloquence lapsed into rhetoric. He could not refer to a scene, an event, a person, an idea, without elaboration, sometimes more than was necessary. More restraint in pouring out the abundance of his mind would have been an advantage. He was keenly interested in life as well as in learning; for he had an observant eye and a sensitive heart, and nothing human was alien to him. What especially commands my admiration and here demands my commendation, was the broad basis of science, philosophy, history and study of religions on which he erected the structure of his theology; one was sometimes even tempted to think that the scaffolding, if I may change the metaphor, was disproportionate to the building itself.

(2) If we recall the theological situation, when he began his career, we must recognize him as a pioneer, 'blazing the trail' for theological progress. His identification of himself with the Evangelical Union, despised and suspected by the other Churches, showed his forward-looking mind. When apologetic theologians were still assailing the theory of evolution, and the hypothesis of Darwin, as a danger to the Christian faith, he even in his first book freely conceded to science its own proper province; but he repudiated agnosticism in affirming not only man's capacity to receive, but the necessity for God, being what He is, to impart a revelation of Himself to man. He exposed the pretentiousness of Herbert Spencer's synthetic philosophy in professing ignorance of the ultimate reality, and yet explaining the Universe as an evolution of matter-in-motion. Accepting the Darwinian hypothesis of man's animal ancestry, he insisted on the proof of man's distinctive endowment as shown in man's progress in history in contrast to the unprogressiveness of his animal kindred. He legitimately ridiculed Herbert Spencer's account of the beginnings of religion; and laid

down the sound principle that any human function must be explained not by its origin, but its whole development and promise of further progress.

(3) In philosophy he was deeply influenced by German idealisms, but he avoided 'the vaulting ambition that o'erleaps itself' of Hegel's absolutism. He so fully recognized the problem of evil and sin, that he did not regard all reality as rational. Recognizing Divine Providence in history, he no less insists on human liberty and the consequences of its use or abuse. He gives the substance of the theistic proofs in his *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*. He argues that the intelligibility of the world for man's intelligence shows that it has an intelligent cause, the theory of evolution being only modal and not causal. Man's moral judgements as an ethical being imply a moral standard, not subjective but objective, a moral universe and a supreme personality as the cause. I find his treatment of the problem of evil one of the best parts of his philosophy. He is interested, not only in the facts of history, but also in the meaning of these facts; recognizing unity and order in history, that is an immanent reason; his philosophy issues in theism.

(4) In his first book, too, he shows his interest in the comparative study of religions, when only a few scholars shared that interest. Religion for him is no superstition, but the highest exercise of reason as engaged with the highest object for the mind of man. While he always insists on the superiority of the Christian religion, he ever exalts Christ far above all other founders of religion, and assigns to Him a place in the religion which no other founder has claimed or been accorded, he recognizes the relative truth and value of all religions as not only man's search after God, but even God's search after man; in genuine religion there is real revelation. The most important factor in human history is religion; and incomparably the supreme person in religion and history is Jesus Christ. The account he gives of human reason will doubtless appear to the theological reaction of to-day as

extravagant idealism, and of the progress of man in history as exuberant optimism; but, although his eloquence does sometimes, even to me, seem too unclouded sunshine without the needful shadows that all the facts demand, yet I believe that he is substantially right, as are not the Jeremiahs of our distressed and dangerous days, since the eternal God abides in unchanged goodness and grace in all our changing days.

(5) In dealing with, and seeking to vindicate the historical reality of Christ as Revealer of God because Son, he had to meet the challenge of the philosophical criticism of Strauss and the literary criticism of Baur; and he devotes one division of his book on *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* to their refutation. In his last book, *Studies in Religion and Theology*, he devotes a few pages to discuss the subject of criticism explicitly. He insists on the distinction of literary and historical criticism, charges 'a scholar even so learned and acute as the late Robertson Smith' with confusing them, and thus relates their mutual dependence: 'the criticism which does not shed light upon a given period through its literature, pursued a method without reason and reasoned without method; while in history the criticism which does not arrange and test its documents can do nothing save beat the air' (p. 250). With the Old Testament, where the battle in this country began, he concerns himself very little; 'as applied to the New Testament', he says, 'criticism is, therefore, but man's method of bringing out the religious significations of the book' (p. 251). Even as one of his students, I felt often that he had not fully assimilated the critical method, and that his exegesis was often more dogmatic than historical. There is still in his books, when he is marshalling the New Testament evidence, the same defect. In his last volume he gives us *Studies of Paul and John* which seem to me to ignore the legitimate demands of criticism. The 'beloved disciple' is identified with John the Son of Zebedee, and both the Gospel and the Apocalypse are ascribed to his

authorship. In earlier volumes the same defect of critical discernment is present. One does not blame Dr. Fairbairn for not anticipating later results of scholarship; what one regrets is that he does not take adequate account of the critical scholarship of his own time, even if only to challenge its conclusions. In 'bringing out the religious signification of the books' he seems to me to draw conclusions which literary and historical criticisms would not sustain. The account he gives of the Apostolic Church in his argument for Congregationalism in his last book seems to me defective in two respects. From the divine paternity he not only infers human fraternity, but as immediately and necessarily consequent on it liberty and equality-democracy, and he assigns to the local congregations an independence which as I read all the evidence cannot be claimed for them. That the apostles exercised an authority—call it what you will, official or personal—seems conclusively proved by Paul's insistence on his apostleship, as well as by other facts recorded. We must accept the conclusion that no one polity can claim to be exclusively primitive.

(6) The use of antithesis is not only a mannerism of his style, but has in some ways reacted upon his thinking. Again and again he opposes, and overstates the opposition of prophet and priest, person and institution, spiritual and sensuous, in asserting his Protestantism, and assailing every type of Catholicism. There were false prophets as well as corrupt priests in Israel. Institutions give permanence to the activity of persons. All worship must be symbolical, and spirit must more or less express itself through the senses. In preaching the Gospel, physical organs are employed no less than in the administration of the sacraments. While I am as Protestant in my convictions as Dr. Fairbairn was, I endeavour to appreciate what is good in Catholicism, while recognizing what is evil. Believing in the supreme and sufficient High Priesthood of Christ, and sharing his conviction also that 'the priesthood belongs to the collective society',

I am compelled to regard his argument that the society cannot commit its corporate function to representative persons, acting by its authority and on its behalf because 'the society as a whole has never met and never voted', as an instance of special pleading (*Studies in Religion and Theology*, p. 416). If the prophetic function of declaring the Word of God can be committed to the Christian minister, may not the priestly function of conducting the worship be entrusted to him also? Dr. Fairbairn seems here to ignore what I regard as a fundamental Congregational principle, that the local church can and does function locally as the one universal Church. No priest nor prophet can claim an *exclusive mediation* of the truth or grace of Christ, but I cannot see how a delegated mediation is contrary to the Christian Gospel. He does not give due consideration to the conception of the Church in its unity and continuity as an historical reality, imperfectly manifesting the *invisible Church*, and yet diversely functioning in the *visible churches*. The œcumenical movements are teaching us to search and strive for the synthesis of the antitheses, which he so unreservedly asserts. This bias, as with all respect I must call it, leads him to be less than just to Judaism and especially the Jerusalem priesthood. The last stage of the history of the Hebrew nation and Jewish people does appear an anti-climax, law after prophecy. But when we remember how, before the Exile, the nation was always relapsing into polytheism and idolatry, and heathen superstition and corruption, may we not regard the law as the shell protecting and preserving the kernel of 'ethical monotheism'? The Psalms are a witness that within the hedge of the law and the worship it prescribed, fair flowers of devotion and fine fruit of character could grow. John the Baptist sprang from a priestly stock, and doubtless there were other priestly families as devout. In this antagonism to Judaism, Dr. Fairbairn also does less than justice to the Old Testament, especially the prophets. It is not true in my judgement that 'before and apart from Christ we have

Naturalism, Polytheism, Pantheism, and a Henotheism, which is the term most characteristic of Judaism as it was and is; but it is only through Him and within Christendom that Monotheism has come to be and has been incorporated in a real and realized religion' (*Christ in Modern Theology*, pp. 378-9). 'Ethical monotheism' Christ inherited from the prophets, much as He added of 'truth and grace' to the content. So intensely, and even sometimes vehemently, does Dr. Fairbairn hold his own conception of Christianity, that he does not always show the judicial impartiality of the historian to what falls short of it.

(7) I gladly pass from difference to agreement. Dr. Fairbairn's most valuable contribution to theology is his insistence on, and exposition of 'the Place of Christ in Modern Theology', as a more adequate and satisfying interpretation of human history, of nature and man, of God Himself than any other religion can offer. His is a theology which has the eternal reality and the temporal manifestation of God as its essential content; but it is *Christo-centric*, since it is in Christ that God is revealed as the Father of all men, and as redeeming men from sin and reconciling them as His forgiven children to Himself. It is a sovereign Fatherhood, in righteousness, if need be, judging sin, but also in grace forgiving. It is in the Cross of Christ that this divine judgement on, and forgiveness of, sin, are supremely and sufficiently manifested. Again and again does Dr. Fairbairn return to this theme. The doctrine of penal substitution is rejected, but the sacrifice of vicarious love is affirmed in sharing, even unto death, the consequences of the sin which is thus condemned. One consideration which is emphasized is that the agony of Gethsemane and the desolation of the Cross were due to Jesus' realization of the guilt incurred by the human agents of that death. Sin was being increased by the saving sacrifice itself. While the Resurrection is unequivocally asserted, as also the continued presence and activity of Christ in the Church, yet this doctrine is not developed as is that of

the Death. Recent theology has been truly emphasizing the victory of the Resurrection as necessarily complementary to the Cross.

(8) While I accept as fully as does my teacher the truth that *the Word became flesh*, the Incarnation of the Word of God, and that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, I must offer one critical and two theological qualifications. (a) There has been great and gratifying progress in the understanding of the Gospels, so that his presentation of the earthly ministry needs modifications, which must be summarily stated. Christ did not found the Kingdom of God as a society on earth of the children of God. He proclaimed the saving sovereignty of God, as already partially realized in His ministry, but as to be perfectly realized on His return in power and glory. He offered Himself as Messiah to the Jewish nation to win it for its missionary, and even martyr, function in the saving of the world, and to avert the tragedy which He clearly foresaw that its fanatical nationalism in its revolt against Rome would involve. He called individual disciples, but He formed them as a company, the nucleus of that society, the believing 'remnant' of the nation, which after His death and till His return was to continue His witness and work. To save that 'remnant' by detaching it from that fanatical nationalism for its proper function, He anticipated and accepted the necessity of His death as 'a ransom for many', and as the sacrifice of the new covenant, the relation of this society as the true Israel, the *ekklesia*, to God, which should displace the old covenant with the nation that was rejecting Him. His personality was realized in the fulfilment of this vocation, not to save individuals apart from one another, but as members of a society, which should be both the object and the organ of God's saving sovereignty in Him. To give one instance of what this social interpretation in contrast to Dr. Fairbairn's too individualistic emphasis involves, in the Temptation Jesus was not concerned as to how He should use His supernatural

powers for Himself, but how He should use them in fulfilling this purpose. (b) While Dr. Fairbairn insists on the reality of the humanity, the conditions and limitations, the *flesh* which *the Word became*, he so emphasizes the supernaturalness of the person of Christ, that he gives the impression of the Incarnation as semblance rather than as substance. The constant dependence on, and entire submission of the Incarnate Word to God, is not sufficiently emphasized. The vision of the Christ of faith obscures the picture of the Jesus of History. To give but one instance, I believe that, in working miracles, Jesus was not exercising a supernatural power inherent in His person as Incarnate, but through a faith, implicit or explicit, was continuously endowed by God with power. Account must be taken of the presence and the activity of the Spirit of God, which He Himself confesses. If the Word was incarnate as *Son*, the whole Godhead was manifest in word and deed in the historical reality. (c) I accept fully Dr. Fairbairn's insistence on the eternal Sonship as well as Fatherhood in the Godhead; but even as a student I felt that his argument did not lead him to a trinity, but to a duality; and beyond that he does not go in adequate exposition in his writings, because he had not as fully thought out the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. He has one sentence on the Holy Spirit in his exposition of the Godhead as a Doctrine (*The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 399), which to me is disappointing. I have myself been led to give much more attention to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; and my thought has become more fully and clearly Trinitarian, or I should prefer to say Triunitarian. In his love of antithesis, Dr. Fairbairn more than once uses the phrase that the Godhead is 'not an abstract simplicity, but a concrete society'. Only as we penetrate the mystery of the Holy Spirit in experience as well as doctrine can we hope to reach the synthesis above such a perilous antithesis.

I trust that no criticism, which reverence for the truth compels me to offer, may for any reader diminish the value

of the tribute of appreciation and gratitude that I desire to offer to my loved and honoured teacher, who has still much to teach which our theology to-day lacks, and to which some of our younger theologians need to give heed.

**ALFRED E. GARVIE**

## MARK RUTHERFORD AND J. A. FROUDE

ROBERTSON NICOLL in one of his interesting articles on Mark Rutherford said of the *Autobiography*, 'I had seen no style quite like this—a style translucent in its simplicity and yet incapable of any amendment'. Other literary critics have agreed to the distinctive quality of Mark Rutherford both in style and atmosphere. None of them seem to have noticed the great similarities that are to be found between J. A. Froude's early book, *The Nemesis of Faith*, and the method, subject matter, temper and style of much that we find in Mark Rutherford's works. *The Nemesis of Faith* is a very curious book, badly constructed and lacking the high quality of eloquence that is found in the best of Froude's essays and history. If it has any importance it is that of a document representing the reaction of a sensitive mind against the dry-as-dust orthodoxy of a clerical father and the impassioned Puseyism of a still more clerical brother towards heterodoxy and secularism. It is a period piece and gives little promise that the writer was to become the master of 'the greatest simple style among English writers of the latter half of the century', to quote the words of George Saintsbury. It was with the simple style that Mark Rutherford excelled. 'Mark Rutherford's style', said Robertson Nicoll, 'had not much colour, and no apparent elaboration; but his words perfectly fitted his thought. His manner may seem austere and bare and simple, but it is so close to the facts that it is always adequate.'

## I

Hale White was a younger contemporary of J. A. Froude, the one being born in 1829 and the other in 1818. In their careers they are good representatives from Dissent and Anglicanism respectively of the storm-tossed age of doubt and challenge in which the years of early and middle life

were passed. Both of them entered the Christian ministry, and both of them resigned their ministry under the pressure of unbelief. Both of them afterwards wrote anonymous books describing the painful processes of surrendering the high calling of the Christian ministry in the character of Markham Sutherland in *The Nemesis of Faith* and Mark Rutherford in the *Autobiography*. The similarity in the names might have suggested a clue to the influence of Froude over Hale White and the trick of writing letters over the initials M.S. in *The Nemesis of Faith* and R.S. in the *Autobiography* is another similarity. 'If there is anywhere a more wonderful study of melancholia than the first part of Mark Rutherford', says Robertson Nicoll, 'I have not seen it.' Nicoll read everything and must have known *The Nemesis of Faith*. Perhaps he considered it less effective as a work of art than Hale White's book, but as a study in melancholia it is painful enough for most readers. Its exclamatory sorrows in the letters of Markham to his friend are less effective than Hale White's restraint and the later writer improves on his predecessor by making Rutherford's friend merely the editor of a straightforward narrative, instead of mixing up letters and narrative as Froude had done. If it be said that Hale White was far too individualistic an author to be under the influence of such a writer as Froude, what, then, can be made of that stanza in the preliminary poem:

For I was ever commonplace;  
Of genius never had a trace;  
My thoughts the world have never fed,  
Mere echoes of the book last read?

He would be a bold man who would call Hale White, an Independent of the Independents, the echo of any man or of any book; yet that is the term he uses of himself (as we must presume Mark Rutherford, with a difference, to be).

It was in July, 1848, that Hale White was approved as a candidate for the ministry and recommended to Cheshunt College. He came from the famous Bunyan Meeting at

Bedford. He seems to have moved on to New College when that was established in 1850. He and two other students were expelled for heterodox views on the subject of inspiration in the following year. During these important college years *The Nemesis of Faith* was published (1848). We have no means of knowing whether Hale White read it then or not but it was exactly the kind of book to fit his own mood. Markham Sutherland's troubles began over the problems of the Old Testament. He was also dissatisfied with the standards of clerical life and the fact that clergymen as a rule were 'fatally uninteresting'. Deeper problems developed later. Hale White never seems to have referred to Froude in his books but Carlyle and Emerson seem to have been the authors that stimulated his enquiring mind in those formative years. We know, also, how much Carlyle counted in the experience of Froude when he was breaking away from the spell of Newman. Hale White could never have called Froude his master but the unconscious influence may have been great. The *Autobiography* did not appear until 1881 and it was Hale White's first adventure into the fields of literature, as distinguished from journalism.

## II

*The Nemesis of Faith* ends with a rather weak 'romance' and tragedy in which Markham is associated with a young married woman and her child. Mrs. Leonard, as she is named, falls in love with Markham and finds in him the kinship of soul and mind that she had never found in her husband. The child dies as the consequence of a chill. The mother informs her husband that she must leave him. Markham contemplates suicide but is saved by the sudden appearance of a Tractarian friend to a momentary faith which soon disappeared in doubt and remorse 'amidst the wasted ruins of his life, where the bare bleak soil was strewn with wrecked purposes and shattered creeds'. Not even the love for the woman who had lost so much for him sustained him. As

for her, she ended her days in a convent unreconciled to the Church and denying that she had sinned in her love for Markham but in her marriage. It is impossible for one who is familiar with Hale White's writings not to imagine he finds all these themes developed again and again in the characters that are found in those six invaluable volumes. It may be said that such themes are the commonplace of the novelist. There is, however, nothing commonplace in Mark Rutherford's treatment of them and the reader of the modern novel would find Froude's approach to such a situation unusual. Is there anything more striking in all Mark Rutherford's work than his remarkable women who affirm so passionately that the sin against the Holy Ghost is the sin against love? We have Miss Arbour in the *Autobiography* with the strange story of her flight from a loveless marriage and Miss Leroy in the *Deliverance* who 'told a male person once, and told him to his face, that if she loved him and he loved her, and they agreed to sign one another's forehead with a cross as a ceremony, it would be as good to her as marriage'. Mrs. Leonard too was a woman of this calibre.

Then, again, some of the most penetrating studies in Hale White's books arise out of intellectual incompatibility between husband and wife. The bookish or imaginative woman is outraged by the insensitiveness of the husband—the Leonard—Mrs. Leonard theme. Or you have the rôle of the intellectual husband who is teased constantly by his wife's lack of understanding. McKay in the *Deliverance* with his pathetic wife provides the type. Again it may be said that this is the stock-in-trade of novelists; but the treatment of it and the stress on the intellectual clash is unusual and it is found both in *The Nemesis of Faith* and with much emphasis in Mark Rutherford. On the other hand the greatest gift that women give to men in all these books is that touch of sympathy that helps them to believe in themselves. The Gospel for poor lonely devils in Mark Rutherford (and there are numbers of such people in his pages) is not so much the

divine compassion but human kindness. Although Markham never rose to the high levels of devotion that women reveal, when he met Mrs. Leonard, 'for the first time he found himself loved for himself—slighted and neglected as he had been'. Hale White has specialized in this situation so that what Froude suggests he develops.

It serves no useful purpose to discuss in detail the doctrinal agreements of Markham Sutherland and Mark Rutherford. They were the affirmations and denials of doubt in the early and mid-Victorian period. The impossibility of verbal inspiration, the problems of cruelty and evil in a divinely governed world, the horrors of a rigid Calvinism and the unsatisfactory nature of the orthodox 'plan of salvation'. Both of them had a strong dislike for Archdeacon Paley whose 'watch argument' seemed like the chattering of sparrows. Above all was the craving for intellectual integrity and the esteem for truth and honesty beyond all things else in life. Those who accept the present-day popular view of Froude as an historian may wonder at this. Let them, however, study *The Nemesis of Faith*. As for Mark Rutherford, the austerity of truth is written across every page he produced.

This short essay is no proof of the influence of the still youthful Froude over the mind of Hale White in the formative years of his career. In the nature of the case, a proof is impossible apart from any definite statement by Hale White himself. The very name Mark Rutherford seems a fairly direct hint. We cannot, however, tabulate vague impressions and the influence of atmosphere. Other readers may trace no resemblance at all in the two writers. I can merely testify that I find the resemblance all pervasive. If the influence of Froude on Hale White were demonstrated it would not make the stature of the later writer any less. Mark Rutherford would still keep his little niche in English literature and remain as characteristic in his own way as Jane Austen is in hers.

A. W. HARRISON

## ‘JESUS AND HIS SACRIFICE’: A REJOINDER

**I**N this article I desire to make a reply to some of the criticisms submitted by Dr. W. F. Lofthouse in his extended review of my book, *Jesus and His Sacrifice*, in the April number of the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*. I hasten to say that I have no thought of writing a merely controversial reply. I desire rather to discuss some of the vital issues which Dr. Lofthouse has raised in his suggestive and detailed note. My reply, indeed, has been delayed because I wanted to consider most carefully the criticisms he advances, and I should like to say that, if I can accept very few of them, I recognize fully their great importance in any study of the doctrine of the Atonement. I should like also to take the opportunity which this rejoinder affords of expressing my deep gratitude to Dr. Lofthouse for so full and so detailed an examination of my work. His note appears to me to be a classic example of the patience and care with which the mature and finished scholar takes up and considers the work of a younger student and contributor. I feel also that I have a duty to fulfil to those who have read the book and considered the points which have been selected for comment.

Dr. Lofthouse thinks that the method I have adopted may lead us to pass over the teaching of the rest of the New Testament, especially the Pauline writings and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that we cannot reach a satisfactory conclusion as to the thoughts of Jesus regarding His death without considering the convictions of those who looked back on Calvary. I do not think that the danger is real, but otherwise I agree with Dr. Lofthouse's submission. I should not dream of neglecting the study of the rest of the New Testament or, indeed, of the history of Christian Doctrine. My book, however, selects a neglected corner of a wide field

and limits itself to this. To follow any other course would require a second volume; and, in my opinion, the sayings of Jesus take us nearer to the centre than any other method of approach can do.

A stronger attack, I think, is pressed when Dr. Lofthouse takes up my argument that Christ's death is sacrificial, is penal in character, and is best appropriated in the eucharistic life of the Church.<sup>1</sup> He claims that 'none of them finds any clear place in the actual words of our Lord, or indeed in the rest of the New Testament', with the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews. I believe that this statement is untrue, and will address myself to it in some detail.

(1) First, the sacrificial significance of our Lord's death is explicit in Mark xiv. 24: 'This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many.' Only by denying the genuineness of this saying, which I am not prepared to do, can this significance be denied. I think the same is true of Mark x. 45: 'a ransom for many', though here I should agree that this view is more open to argument. I have also contended that our Lord's attitude to the sacrificial system, and His use of the Servant conception in Isaiah liii. support my contention. I am at a loss to understand Isaiah liii. unless this sublime poem stands against a background of sublimated sacrificial ideas. Dr. Lofthouse's statement: 'Our Lord never uses sacrificial terms of His death', I submit, is not justified. As for the rest of the New Testament, he concedes the Epistle to the Hebrews. I would also claim the use of sacrificial conceptions in Romans iii. 25f; v. 9, 10; Colossians i. 20, 22; Ephesians i. 7; ii. 13. In the Johannine writings, John i. 29, and xii. 24; 1 John i. 7; ii. 1f; iii. 5; iv. 10, and Apocalypse i. 5; v. 6, 9, 12; vii. 14; xii. 11; xiii. 8 and xiv. 4 cry out against this denial. If the death of Christ is not sacrificial, it is nothing.

I am grateful to Dr. Lofthouse that he so carefully records the various qualifications which I make in speaking of sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> I should prefer to say 'in faith, sacramental devotion, and sacrificial living'. See later.

He notes for example my claim that Jesus was not deeply influenced by the cultus, my recognition that sacrifice was not a means of appeasing an angry God, and my contention that the significance of Christ's Person raises His action into a new category of sacrifice. He also does full justice to my submission that the suffering of Jesus is not a transaction, the benefits of which can be transferred to the account of another. I mention these things because there is a tendency not illustrated in Dr. Lofthouse's criticism, to suppose that these ideas are essential to a sacrificial interpretation of the death of Jesus, and that, when they are omitted, nothing is left. On the contrary, I believe, the most vital element in sacrifice remains, and one which illuminates the doctrine of the Atonement as nothing else can. By this I mean the idea of a representative offering in which the worshipper can participate and, in a true sense, make it his own. I cannot, of course, state an argument for this view here, but I have done this in Chapter VI in Part I of *Jesus and His Sacrifice*. It is fundamental to my argument that 'the aim of sacrifice is a restored fellowship; its medium is a representative offering; its spiritual condition is the attitude of the worshipper; its rationale is the offering of life; its culmination is sharing in the life offered by means of the sacred meal' (*op.cit.*, 295). I would claim that a conception of this kind provides the best vehicle we can find for expressing the objective and subjective aspects of the Atonement. It provides for the idea of an offering, made representatively, which, together with the believing response of man, constitutes the supreme sacrifice. I recognize, of course, that this idea of sacrifice is ancient, and that for the modern man it is not an easy or natural medium of thought. The bane of theology, however, has always been its eagerness to modernize ancient ways of thinking too quickly. If this danger is kept in mind, it ought not to be impossible to translate the fundamental ideas of sacrifice, as they are involved in the Atonement, into modern terms; but this task cannot be accomplished

until we have patiently examined the primitive and original modes of expression.

To isolate the content of our Lord's representative offering is a task which can be accomplished only in part, and I was well aware of this when I suggested that it is found in (1) His perfect obedience to the Father's will; (2) His perfect penitence for the sins of men, and (3) His perfect submission to the judgement of God upon sin. The first of these raises difficulties in the mind of Dr. Lofthouse in view of the necessity of maintaining the complete oneness, in thought and purpose and will, between the Son and the Father. Thus, he writes: 'How could Christ, men ask, be one with the Father if it was His rôle to be completely obedient to the Father? Does not obedience imply subordination? We must think of the will of the Father and the Son alike as being bent on this reconciliation. Otherwise, we must surrender the *Nicenum*—"being of one substance with the Father".' In view of certain pages in *The Father and the Son* (see pp. 92-104), this concern of Dr. Lofthouse for the *Nicenum* has a certain piquant interest, and I should agree that a serious, if not insoluble, problem is raised. I venture to make two comments only. When we speak of the obedience of the Son, we are thinking of Him as the Incarnate. When, however, we use the language of the Nicene Creed, we are attempting to think of the timeless relations between the Father and the Son in the inner relationships of the ever blessed Trinity. We must not confuse these thoughts, even if we cannot relate them to one another to our intellectual satisfaction. The other observation is that, in any case, we cannot part with the truth of the obedience of Christ, taught so clearly by St. Paul and the *auctor ad Hebraeos* (see Romans v. 19 and Hebrews x. 10), nor can we deny the fact of subordination in the life of the Incarnate Son, presented in the teaching of St. John (see John xiv. 28) and implied by St. Paul (see 1 Corinthians xv. 28).

The question of vicarious penitence is not mentioned by Dr. Lofthouse, and that of Christ's perfect submission to the

Divine judgement on sin is included in his criticism of my treatment of the penal element in the suffering of Christ. I turn, in the second place, to the penal aspect of Christ's Sacrifice.

(2) Dr. Lofthouse is correct in saying that I feel strongly that there was a penal element in the Sacrifice of Christ. Once more I am grateful to him in that he does full justice to the qualifications I am compelled to make in expressing this conviction. Thus, I do not believe in substitutionary punishment because such a conception is not ethical, nor again do I hold that the justice of God had to be satisfied before He could forgive sinners. I should gather that Dr. Lofthouse thinks that, when such admissions are made, we have no right to speak of a penal element in the suffering of Christ, and I believe that many people are of the same opinion. From this view I strongly dissent, because I think that it leads us to ignore an element of the greatest value in the work of Christ for men.

When I speak of the penal aspect of Christ's Sacrifice, I mean that He, as the Representative of man, shared in the suffering of those penal consequences which attend on human sin. He did this, not as our substitute, but as the Lover of men. His penal suffering was the inevitable consequence of His love for sinners.

In this matter the fundamental question is whether the suffering which attends on sin is penal in character. Dr. Lofthouse recognizes, as we must all recognize, that 'sin entails painful and disastrous consequences, physical, mental, social and spiritual, to the sinner, and also not seldom to others', but, I should gather, he would not call suffering of this kind 'penal'. 'Can it be called suffering inflicted by God for sin?' he asks. Later he says that punishment can only be considered, 'if it is inflicted at all', as 'a means to (reconciliation)'. 'Suffering is that which, as George Herbert quaintly expressed it, "tosses" the sinner to the breast of God.' I hope I am correctly expressing his meaning when I

say that in this view suffering is remedial only; it is the discipline of the sick soul. Speaking for myself, I cannot accept this view. It seems to me that when it is so regarded suffering is bound to awake feelings of revolt. If all that we can say is that it tosses us to the breast of God, we have no adequate answer to the question: 'Why is suffering necessary? Cannot the result be gained in some better way?' The blessed result is obtained only if we admit that the suffering is *deserved*. When we can say this, the feeling of revolt is stayed; we submit to its justice, and find ourselves upon the breast of God. In other words, suffering, so far as it is punishment, is *retributive* in character; it is not simply remedial or educative or disciplinary. It is all these just because it is penal, and if it is not penal it is not these things at all.<sup>1</sup> And why should we rule God out of the process? Some theologians are ready to admit the presence of retributive punishment in the economy of life provided they can trace it to some mysterious law operative in the moral universe. As theists, we cannot justly do this. We are compelled, I think, to speak of retributive punishment as the work of a Holy God. This does not mean that He is a celestial executioner who fits exactly the punishment to the crime. In the words of Paul, God is *ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀργήν* (Romans iii. 5). He does not stand over the sinner with a club. Rather does He permit the punishment to arise out of the sin itself, as its fruit and ultimate expression, and He does this, not merely as a Judge, but as a Loving Father who knows that there is no real reconciliation until the sinner turns retributive punishment into discipline by accepting it as just. We turn our faces home when we cry: 'Thou art just in all that is come upon us: for thou hast dealt truly, but we have done wickedly' (Nehemiah ix. 33).

I have gone into this fully because I think that the question of the penal aspect of Christ's Sacrifice can become luminous

<sup>1</sup> I hope it is not necessary for me to explain that I am not speaking of all suffering, but of suffering which is the result of sin.

only in this way. As our Representative before God, He, out of the greatness of His love, enters into this penal suffering, bears it upon His heart, and voices man's submission before the face of His Father. This was His Ministry on Calvary and it is His Ministry still as our eternal High Priest (Hebrews ii. 17; iv. 14; ix. 24-6; x. 19-22). 'We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world' (1 John ii. 1f). It is not for a moment a question of substitutionary punishment: He is not punished instead of us. Rather does He enter the blight of penal suffering; in the Pauline sense He is 'made sin for us' (2 Corinthians v. 21); and we, united to Him by faith, make His response our own.

Dr. Lofthouse rightly asks for some justification for this view in the Gospel tradition. 'It will be acknowledged', he says, 'that Jesus never spoke of His death as a punishment, either for His own sin or for the sin of others, or even as connected with a penalty: nor is the thought of God as inflicting a penalty anywhere referred to in the passion sayings.' I agree that all this is true. I suggest, however, that the observation is to the point only if we are thinking of the penal element in sin, and in the death of Christ, in senses which I repudiate as much as he does. I will further admit that no saying of His has survived in the tradition which voices unambiguously that penal ministry which I have described. But having said this, I can claim that there is much in that tradition which is harmonious with my interpretation, and, as I myself think, demands it. There is first the tremendous emphasis He lays on the Divine judgement upon sin (Mark iii. 29; xii. 9; Luke x. 12, 14; xii. 5; xiii. 28; xvii. 1f; Matthew vii. 23; xviii. 35; xxv. 46). I find it hard to think that He was speaking of remedial suffering. I must draw the inference that He was speaking of retributive punishment. Then we must take into account His use of the Servant conception, remembering that of the

Servant it is said: 'He bore the sin of many' (Isaiah liii. 12). We must also consider the increasing burden of sorrow which filled His soul as He approached the Cross (Luke xii. 50) and His agony in Gethsemane, culminating in His cry concerning the Cup (Mark xiv. 36). Finally, there remains the cry of desolation on the Cross (Mark xv. 34). I cannot repeat here the close study of these words which I have made in *Jesus and His Sacrifice* (pp. 157-63). I can only repeat my affirmation that 'Jesus so closely identified Himself with sinners, and experienced the horror of sin to such a degree, that for a time the closeness of His communion with the Father was broken, so that His face was obscured and He seemed to be forsaken by Him' (*op. cit.*, p. 162). While it would be wrong to say that He underwent punishment, the sacred record does seem to me to indicate that, in the process of His self-identification with sinners, He entered into, and indeed could not escape, the fires of penal suffering when, as the Lamb of God, He 'bore away' the sin of the world (John i. 29). In view of its unethical associations, I would gladly part with the word 'penal' if I could, but I cannot but notice that, in parting with it, many theologians jettison a vital element in the doctrine of the Atonement. This is just one of those cases when it is easy to purchase relief from the incubus of a word at the expense of truth itself, for there is a diamond point of truth in the penal aspect of Christ's Sacrifice which resists the solvents of theological criticism. It does not follow that because the lamb in the Old Testament cultus was not regarded as 'punished', there is therefore no penal element in the Sacrifice of Jesus. It is the *difference* between Him and the sacrificial victim which exposed Him to such suffering, in a word, His love. He was condemned by His love to endure penal suffering, and to the extent that we enter into His spirit in the love of others, our experience is the same.

(3) I turn, lastly, to the question of the appropriation of the Sacrifice of Christ in the eucharistic life of the Church.

Here, I think, unwittingly, Dr. Lofthouse has failed to indicate the fullness of my answer to the question, how the blessings of Christ's work are to be appropriated. My view is that they are appropriated by faith, sacramental communion, and sacrificial living; and I think I may say that I show that of these the greatest is faith, since the other two are expressions of faith, in worship and in service respectively. 'It is faith-union', I have written, 'which provides the nexus between men and the self-offering of Jesus; it is in virtue of this relationship that all that He offers in His death is available for man in his access to God' (*Jesus and His Sacrifice*, p. 314). I also point out that 'it is impossible to differentiate in absolute terms between the ultimate nature of sacramental communion and the concept of faith in Christ' (p. 292), and I speak of those for whom 'faith in Christ is an immediate and direct experience which reveals no obvious need of outward ritual expression beyond that of language or of song' (*ibid*). I also give prominence to Wesley's definition of faith in Christ as 'recumbency upon Him as our atonement and our life, as *given for us*, and *living in us*; and, in consequence hereof, a closing with Him, and cleaving to Him' (p. 315). I do not see how I could express more clearly and emphatically my conviction that faith-union with Christ is the primary means of appropriating the blessings of Christ's Sacrifice. Dr. Lofthouse recognizes that I do not say that the Eucharist is '*the means*' to this end, but he says that I imply that 'it is the most important means', and he quotes the passage in which I speak of the Eucharist as offering 'its supreme opportunity for participation in the Sacrifice of Christ' (p. 324). In reply, I would respectfully urge that, not only has he failed to take account of what I say about faith, but he has not sufficiently considered that, in making the statement which he quotes, I am speaking of man's *communal* approach to God, as a member of a worshipping *community*. In such an approach a rite is indispensable, and for this reason it is singularly appropriate that our Lord should have instituted

the Supper, which provides the means necessary to the end in view. In this connexion, I cordially welcome the statement of Dr. Lofthouse that 'we must thankfully acknowledge that the rite has been, all through the Christian centuries, a vehicle of an absorbing devotion, of a profound sense of fellowship with others, of a mysterious consciousness in which rapture and agony grow into one, and of the ever-deepening experience that Christ once died for us and we are alive in Him'. In this belief we are at one.

I believe that the real difference between us, so far as it is not one of outlook and standpoint, is that I give to the Eucharist a position which is not common in theories of the Atonement. It is, however, my strong conviction that 'no modern presentation of the doctrine of the Atonement is likely to be satisfactory which ignores, or deals imperfectly with, the doctrine of the Eucharist' (p. 322). I doubt if Dr. Lofthouse would accept this view without the qualifications which he makes in his important note. And it is just in respect of these qualifications that we disagree. He observes that the critical problem of the words used at the Supper and their significance is 'very far from being solved'. I should prefer to say that there is a wide and growing measure of agreement upon these matters, if we set aside the views of extremists. He thinks that we should surely have expected to hear more of the Eucharist in the Epistles. My own view is that we find as much as we have a right to expect, if there was an absence of serious differences of opinion in the primitive communities, and if the apprehension of the significance of the rite was progressive. The fact that we owe 1 Corinthians xi. 23-5 to the existence of local abuses at Corinth is a salutary warning against asking too much from the Epistles. Dr. Lofthouse argues that St. Paul never suggests that union with Christ has anything to do with a Eucharistic meal. I should maintain that he is not far from this belief when he asks: 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ?' (1 Corinthians x. 16).

Dr. Lofthouse would not extend the Eucharistic teaching of the Fourth Gospel much beyond John vi. 51-6: I think the Evangelist's outlook is fundamentally sacramental. In his view, the absence of an account of the institution of the rite in xiii. suggests the reverse; in mine it marks his unwillingness to make the Upper Room an occasion for polemic.<sup>1</sup> His contention is that the blessings of eucharistic worship are 'only for those in whom the work of reconciliation is complete'; mine is that they are ever available for those who are eager to enter into a relationship of fellowship with God completed in Perfect Love. I wish I could say that these are unimportant differences; but I do most gladly recognize that they are secondary in comparison with our agreement in the conviction expressed in the quotation at the end of the previous paragraph. If I may select the element which is of most vital moment to me in my apprehension of the doctrine of the Atonement, it is not the Eucharist, but the representative offering which Christ has made for all men, which remains constant whether we accept it or not, which is not altered by our moods, our belief or unbelief, our hopes or fears, a great immovable spiritual achievement accomplished in the mercy of God for sinners; and yet, an offering into which we may enter daily, by faith, by worship, and by sacrificial living, so that, while remaining for ever His, it increasingly becomes our own.

I am grateful to Dr. Lofthouse because his criticism affords me this opportunity of making this confession, and if, in the warmth of discussion, I should have mis-stated or misconceived his argument, I would ask to be forgiven.

VINCENT TAYLOR

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation*, p. 214. (Epworth Press. 7s. 6d.)

## THE CHRISTIAN PLATONISTS AND PRAYER

**T**HEOPHRASTUS is credited with the statement that the sage is never less lonely than in solitude. For, while he is far from human companionship, he is near to God. Christianity has numbered amongst its members those who would subscribe to this belief. Others have claimed that in human companionship and the activities of ordinary life man may hold a real and effectual communion with the Eternal.

Though each party has claimed the authority of our Lord's teaching and practice, it seems evident that not until the rise of Monasticism, in its earliest form, was any attempt made to influence Christians to leave the world. It was corruption within the Church, far more than a corrupt world, that brought about this retreat. Nevertheless, in Christian piety there did arise an emphasis on the greater value of a life of renunciation which grew from a 'mystical' conception of religion, as opposed to the 'prophetic', and not from a sense of dissatisfaction with the Church.

It is the opinion of the present writer that this mystical element was first introduced into Christianity, in any permanently influential form, by Origen. By studying the attitude to prayer of the Christian Platonists—of whom Clement and Origen are the chief representatives—we can see where the division began.

Hort has said, 'In Clement, Christian Theology in some important respects reaches its highest point. With all his manifest defects, there was no one whose vision of what the faith of Jesus Christ was intended to do for mankind was so full or so true'. Clement boldly appropriated the dangerous term 'Gnostic' and applied it to the spiritual Christian who sought to grow in knowledge and love of God. For Clement was right when he stated that 'simple' faith is not enough. 'Christian', who enters the Wicket Gate, must climb Hill

Difficulty and pass unscathed through Vanity Fair if he would make a successful pilgrimage to the Celestial City. There will always be those who are ambitious to scale the heights of Christian living, unlike the majority of their fellows who are content to dwell on the plains. To those few Clement addressed himself. He upheld the great ideals of Christianity and the goal of perfection which it sets before mankind so that no one might be satisfied with spiritual mediocrity.

In the Seventh Book of the *Stromateis* we find Clement's teaching about prayer. Communion with God, he says, is essential if such mediocrity is to be avoided. The life work of the Christian is 'to hold communion with God through the great High Priest' (3. 13). This prayer is not to be limited to certain times nor when we are in the company of those who are praying too. In every place and throughout his life the Christian will give thanks to God. 'Prayer is converse with God. Even if we address Him in a whisper, without opening our lips, or uttering a sound, still we cry to Him in our heart. For God never ceases to listen to the inward converse of the heart, (7. 39). Such continuous prayer is bound to have its influence upon the life and character and will transform the Christian. 'If converse with a good man moulds for the better the one who talks with him, how much more will the one who is in the uninterrupted presence of God be raised above himself and every occasion with regard to his actions, words and temper.'

Clement's conception of the content of prayer can be summed up in the words of Sir Henry Wotton's poem:

Whom God doth late and early pray  
More of His grace than gifts to lend.

Clement believed that the true Christian Gnostic would make his request for the things that are really good, i.e. the things pertaining to the soul. He will use his own efforts, too, that 'he may be himself good and not merely have good things attached to him like ornaments' (7. 38). Clement

quotes with approval the prayer of the athlete who asked, 'If I, O Zeus, have now done all that was fitting on my part in preparation for the contest, do thou make haste to bestow the victory I deserve' (7. 48).

It is true, as Heiler suggests, that contemplation has an important place in Clement's ideal prayer of the Christian Gnostic, but prayer is never merely contemplation, for petition occupies a significant place in Clement's outline of prayer. Though 'not wordy in his uttered prayers', the Christian makes intercession for his unconverted neighbours. It is refreshing to find such a spiritual conception of prayer. Too often it has been degraded into petition for the fulfilment of desires which are purely selfish. Of such motive there is no trace in Clement. The Christian whom he depicts is willing to pray and fail rather than to succeed without prayer.

But Clement's chief contribution to the Christian Doctrine of Prayer lies in the emphasis that he lays on the value of continuous communion with God. Two passages from the *Stromateis* are sufficient for our purpose. Speaking of the Christian Gnostic, Clement says: 'He is not wordy in his uttered prayers since he is taught by the Lord what to ask for. Accordingly he will pray in every place, not however for all to see, but in every sort of way his prayer ascends, whether he is walking or reading or in company or at meat or engaged in good works: and though it be only a thought in the secret chamber of the heart, while he calls on the Father in groanings that cannot be uttered, yet the Father is nigh at hand even before he has done speaking' (7. 49). In his well-known passage from the *Protrepticus* he says: 'It is his nature as man to be in close fellowship with God. As then we do not force the horse to plough, nor the bull to hunt, but lead each animal to its natural work, for the very same reason we call upon man, who was made for the contemplation of heaven, and is in truth a heavenly plant, to come to the knowledge of God. . . . We counsel him to equip himself with godliness, as a sufficient provision for his journey

through eternity. Till the ground, we say, if you are a husbandman; but recognize God in your husbandry. Sail the sea, you who love seafaring; but ever call upon the Heavenly Pilot. Were you a soldier on campaign when the knowledge of God laid hold upon you? Then listen to the Commander who signals righteousness.'

From what has been stated above it can be seen that Clement at least cannot be blamed for any suggestion that prayer is more efficacious if uttered in solitude. Rather does he portray for us the Christian who, in the midst of life's activities, lifts his heart in praise and prayer to God. He says in this connexion: 'Accordingly all life is a festival: being persuaded that God is everywhere present on all sides, we praise Him as we till the ground, we sing hymns as we sail the sea, we feel His inspiration in all that we do.' He goes on to say that the Christian Gnostic enjoys a still closer intimacy with God being at once serious and cheerful in everything; serious because his thoughts are turned heavenwards and cheerful as he reckons up the blessings with which God has enriched our human life (7. 35).

It is in Origen that we see the altered attitude to prayer. Much that he says is fine and in accordance with all that is best in Christianity. In Origen, however, we can see the seeds of a conception different from Clement's which, when it had fully grown, produced a spirituality which maintained that apart from the toil and companionship of daily life, God could best be worshipped. The source of our knowledge of Origen's teaching is found in *de Oratione* which he wrote to remove certain difficulties which he felt existed in his day about prayer.

Prayer, he said, to be effective must spring from God Himself. He cites St. Paul, 'We know not what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit maketh intercession for us'. 'I will pray with the spirit and I will pray with the understanding also.' Our intelligence cannot pray if the Spirit has not prayed beforehand. God's grace is the power that

enables the impossible to become actual. The disciples asked Jesus to teach them to pray because they felt that they had more to learn.

In chapter five, Origen replies to those objectors who say that prayer is superfluous. They have stated that if God knows all beforehand, if all comes according to His will, if His purposes are steadfast and if nothing can change what He wills, then prayer is futile. In reply, Origen points out that life is not conducted on a basis of fatalism. Blame and praise are apportioned because we believe that men are reasonable beings.

In stressing his conviction that immense benefits are to be gained by those who pray, Origen gives examples from Scripture. The promises of Jesus, 'Ask and it shall be given you', 'They who ask shall receive', are an encouragement to all who would pray. The angelic hosts co-operate with us in prayer to the end that we may obtain that for which we plead. In the answering of prayer, those who are God's means of supplying a need are brought into contact with the petitioner, not by mere chance, but by God Himself, who counts the very hairs of our heads. In answer to prayer, faithless souls have been stirred and mighty miracles wrought. Origen illustrates his point by citations from Scripture, particularly the Old Testament.

Because Christ is our Mediator, prayer should be made to the Father and not to Him (Chapter 15). Prayer should be made to God through Jesus Christ. Here Origen is setting forth a counsel of perfection. Christians in every age (and Origen himself in his Homilies!) have not made any clear distinction and even prayers to the Holy Spirit are not unknown.

Origen's exposition of the Lord's Prayer is interesting but not original. One significant interpretation must be noted as it concerns the subject under discussion. When commenting on the petition for 'daily bread' (Chapter 27), Origen sweeps aside the interpretations of those who have taken this clause

literally. He then proceeds to a long argument in which he tries to prove that it must mean 'the true bread'. This naturally affects his exposition of the word *ἐπιούσιος*. While, as he points out, this word occurs only in the Matthaean and Lukan account of the Lord's Prayer, and nowhere else in Greek literature, the attempt to build up his case on such a doubtful interpretation as the one he gives is not convincing. Commentators like McNeile and Montefiore in our own day, and almost every other of former years, have taken this phrase literally and have interpreted this rare word as 'daily'. Likewise in discussing the word *σήμερον* Origen takes it to mean 'for ever' and quotes passages from the Old Testament in support of his case. But his whole argument is based on too literal an interpretation and so it fails to convince the modern mind. This clause is usually paraphrased 'Give us to-day sufficient for its temporal needs'. If this is right it is a very different interpretation from Origen's. While he correctly regards prayer as something more than a magic wand, which has only to be employed to secure the granting of our wishes, he lifts it into realms remote from ordinary life and thus it becomes of small use to those whose lives are not lived apart from the world.

But Origen reveals most clearly his attitude of separation from the world when he comes to discuss the place of prayer. While professing to believe that prayer may be made in every place, he suggests, with exaggerated emphasis, a private place for prayer: a place where the Christian may meet with God and God will be prepared to meet with him. The stress laid on the place of prayer is very different from that laid by Our Lord and the Apostles. The setting apart of places for prayer has much to commend it. Jesus suggested that the disciple should go into some inner room to pray but the shutting of the door was never intended to be a symbol of a world neglected nor was it meant to lead to a withdrawal from the world in which mankind has been placed to make and mould it according to the Divine plan. The idea that one

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place makes prayer more efficacious than another reveals a mistaken idea of prayer and of God. The ultimate result of such an attitude could only be the hermit's cell, over which, as Dr. Workman has pointed out, might be inscribed the legend 'God and my soul'. Clement's Christian praying at the plough depicts the man who loves God and his neighbour and to whom these words might be applied, 'In the handiwork of their craft is their prayer'. But Origen's Christian is in danger not merely of forgetting his neighbour but of losing sight of the conception of 'God and my soul' until the mystical idea of absorption into the Eternal excludes the prophetic 'Thou and I' of dynamic religion. This is in fact the process that took place in the following years. The result was an inevitable distinction between sacred and secular from which we are not yet free. Clement, on the other hand, stands for the idea expressed in the well-known words:

So shall no part of day or night  
From sacredness be free;  
But all my life, in every step,  
Be fellowship with Thee.

H. TREVOR HUGHES

## THE PLACE OF GOD IN A. N. WHITEHEAD'S PHILOSOPHY

**T**HE reality of God is regarded by Whitehead as essential to his metaphysical system. One could well imagine a system which, while not necessarily excluding the idea of God, would be intelligible even without postulating the reality of God as integral to it. Such a scheme might allow God a place in it, but could dispense with Him without being thereby impoverished. This, however, cannot be the case according to Whitehead's philosophy, for reality to him while not being subsumed under the term God, would be unintelligible and but partial, if God were left out of it. Probably one of the reasons why so many religious thinkers turn their wistful gaze to the philosophy of Whitehead is that he places God in an essential position in relation to reality. Despite the highly complicated mathematical and scientific concepts of his philosophy, Whitehead is becoming increasingly attractive to religious philosophy if for no other reason than his perennial emphasis upon the necessity of deity in the system of reality he propounds.

But we must not hastily assume that Whitehead's philosophy confirms orthodox theism, for it is clear that God, for him, is not the absolute undetermined Being, from whom all reality springs and upon whom it all depends. Quite otherwise, for while God is essential to reality, He is in a sense subservient to its metaphysical principles. For the laws or ultimate metaphysical principles of reality regulate all the elements of reality, and although the Deity may be regarded as the chief element in reality yet it is subject to the same metaphysical laws as all other parts of reality. Christian philosophy does not admit this. It repudiates the idea of a metaphysical ground other than God which determines or conditions Him, and asks the question which Whitehead nowhere clears up—what is the nature of those ultimate

metaphysical principles which 'lord it' over God Himself? Christian philosophy would affirm that all reality depends both for its existence and continuity upon God. There is no reality behind the Deity, determining Him, for He is postulated as the sole, ultimate reality, upon which the contingent world utterly depends. God is the only utterly independent reality upon which all other types of reality are dependent.

One may classify reality into two kinds, independent reality, by which I mean the ultimate spiritual existence or essence which we call God, and dependent reality, that is the world of appearances which are only real because of their relation to the ultimate spiritual Being. Whitehead would not accept this distinction. He would press for an answer to the deeper question—are not God and the world expressions of something more ultimate which is neither? Whitehead seems to infer this. There is a sense in which Whitehead is right, for we cannot conceive of God out of relation to the world and ourselves. This, of course, is thoroughly Hegelian, for while God does not depend upon the world for His essence or existence, which in Him are the same, it would seem that He is dependent on the world for some aspects of His self-expression. If, then, God expresses Himself partly by means of the world and the temporal processes, and the historical scene in which the Incarnation took place, His greatest moment of self-expression, it would appear that His self-revelation makes Him subject to that extent to the world and time. But the point is, was God's self-expression occasioned by the inner necessities of His nature or is it because He is determined by some outside metaphysical principles and thus compelled to express Himself? In other words, does God will to express Himself or is His self-revealing determined by other more ultimate factors than Himself? The latter is Whitehead's view. But it strikes a fateful blow at religion for a God who is not utterly free and does not seek fellowship with His children, because it is His

nature to do so, is not a God who would elicit free worship from His children. Moreover, if God's self-revealing is dependent altogether upon time and the world, His eternal existence becomes an anomaly, for God's revelation is not altogether something which God began at a point of time, for God is the Revealer, for being God, the living God, He reveals Himself. Out of His eternity that revelation perpetually flows. It is an unmeaning question to ask if God's existence is dependent upon His self-expression, for the two are one.

The hard problem here is the relation of revelation to time. My answer would be that Revelation, as we know it in creation, and in Christ, requires the existence of time, but Revelation as an ultimate datum of the Godhead is beyond our understanding. There is a revelation in time and there is God's self-revealing beyond time in the depths of His eternity, in the eternal relations of the Blessed Trinity. There is revelation in time which means that in this type of God's revealing time is the medium of it, and there is God's revealing which is beyond time and does not require the temporal instrument for its eternal expression. The difficulty about the revelation in time is that when made through individuals it can never be pure, for the pure truth is made less pure according to the imperfection of the temporal instrument, but Jesus Christ, Christians affirm, is the only point in time where the revelation in time is unsullied. But in eternity the revelation is never spoiled by any impure medium, for there is no sin or limitation to spoil the perfect self-expression of God within the Godhead. God reveals Himself in the latter sense out of pure joy, not for the sake of others.

All this, however, is not in consistency with Whitehead's philosophy. What is it, for him, which conditions and determines Deity? God is not an exception to the ultimate metaphysical principles to which all beings are subject. God's functions flow as obligatory duties from these principles. The system of things is not supported by God but He is supported by the system, although He becomes managing

director when He gets going. God does not determine the manner in which the system of reality originates or operates, but His functions are defined by that system. So that Whitehead's philosophy however near to the Christian view of reality in other respects, such as his belief in final causes, fails lamentably in this crucial fact that God is not the ultimate principle of reality. The ultimate principle he affirms is creativity, an agency which apparently he regards as the ultimate datum of reality and its basic determining feature. This creativity moves on to novel emergencies. So it is clear that although God forms a necessary part of Whitehead's system, being an actual entity with all the other entities, He fulfils those metaphysical conditions which hold for all actual entities, although He is the first actual entity.

This creativity which conditions all entities, including God, surely requires some explanation even though it is guided in its activities by the eternal objects or forms. But there is a primacy in Whitehead's system for the idea of God. He is the primordial actual entity although He does not create this principle of creativity, because all actual entities, of which God is chief, realize their full actuality in Him. All the relationships between actual entities are significant only in a state of realization. 'The general relationships of eternal objects to each other, relationships of diversity and pattern, are their relationships in God's conceptual realization.' The conception of God, therefore, is an item in Whitehead's philosophy because it produces coherence in the scheme of things, that is, it is capable of directing the creativity principle and interprets the facts of our experience by bringing all other actual entities into a coherent scheme.

Creativity, however, is not by itself anything actual. In order to be actual it must be expressed in actual created entities. Creativity as a principle is unbounded possibility. It has to become limited by something or other, its possibilities have to be organized before any definite process of creation starts. Somehow, such limitation, Whitehead contends, is

an accident. God in relation to the principle of creativity 'is its primordial non-temporal accident'. God thus is the first actual creation in which creativity becomes actual. God, therefore, is brought into being accidentally out of bare creativity. But how, and when? we ask, for becoming involves time. Creativity accidentally produces Deity, but how is Deity produced out of time? The unity of reality is preserved in creativity itself, not like the Aristotelian dualism of eternal matter and the eternal God, for God originates by accident from the bare principle of creativity. Ultimate dualism involves finitude in God. To explain anything, however, is to find reasons for it. You cannot explain bare possibility or creativity from which God emerges, but everything else owes its existence to God's activity. This primordial determination of God's existence from creativity, conditions all other temporal actualities. But when existing, God begins His powerful reactions upon the principle of creativity which produced Him. Just as a little child, helpless and uncontrolled, has a body at the mercy of external events, but when as its mind develops in adult life the latter can assume much control over the body, so God, born out of creativity, can and does assume control, if not absolute, over creativity. In any case all other actual entities owe their relationship to creativity and to each other because of this primordial entity called God. He is the first actual entity which controls the direction of creativity and causally determines all other facts, and also He it is who by His primordial envisagement of all eternal objects supplies all possible ideals. This is rather hard to interpret simply, but it really means that we must refer to God for both kinds of causality efficient as well as final. Contradictory though it seems we are asked to admit that 'God is the ultimate irrationality which is the ground of all rational explanation'.

This is very much like Leibniz's dominant Monad. The great difference is that the Dominant Monad of Leibniz is the Eternal God, while the Deity of Whitehead does not

even exist at the beginning, but after beginning to exist he takes control over what is and what is to be. But of how Deity is cast up by the principle of creativity no adequate explanation is given.

Then, finally, Whitehead speaks of the primordial nature of God and His consequent nature. The latter is the result of the reaction of the temporal world upon God Himself. 'The consequent nature of God is the physical prehension by God of the actualities of the evolving universe.' Every actual entity begins in God who emerges from creativity by accident and also every actual entity ends in God. God is also 'the eternal urge of desire'. He is the unmoved Mover. He holds up all ideals and moves us to the realization of those which are possible to us. But in His eternal primordial nature He is infinite and suffers no change. But the consequent nature of God grows along with the evolving universe, so that God is eternal in His primordial nature, temporal in His consequent nature. He gathers unto Himself by the creative advance the whole process. Nothing that once has been is left behind. Our joys, our sorrows, failures, and trials, are 'woven by rightness of feeling into the harmony of universal feeling'. 'God's nature is best conceived as that of a tender care that nothing is lost,' but 'He does not create the world, He saves it; or, more accurately, He is the poet of the world with tender patience leading it by His vision of truth, beauty and goodness.' These important metaphors and sentiments in Whitehead's philosophy are hints that we cannot comprehend the ultimate mystery of reality or of God's relation to all its parts; but the ghosts of Plato and Aristotle, Leibniz and Aquinas appear in Whitehead's philosophy of Deity and the principles of relativity and organism haunt too the whole system of Whitehead. His philosophy is yet being formed. From his *Principia Mathematica* to his *Concept of Nature* we pass to his *Science and the Modern World* and his *Religion in the Making*, but his most glorious search is in his *Process and Reality*, and his *Adventures of Ideas* points out

still to vaster continents to be explored. Whitehead is still navigating the vast seas of philosophical speculation. He has left the shores of matter and physics and relativity and traversed the more speculative regions of biology and metaphysics. His happiest and most problematic contributions enrich both our theological vocabulary and our faith, so that whatever God is, He certainly exists, and no element of the world is exempt from His care and no future possibility in the world of real events is outside His influence. I will close with a great statement from *Process and Reality*. 'What is done in the world is transformed into reality in heaven, and the real, in heaven passes into the world. By reason of this reciprocal relation, the love in the world passes into the love of heaven, and floods back again into the world. In this sense God is the great Companion—the fellow sufferer who understands.'

ERNEST G. BRAHAM

# Notes and Discussions

## SOME RECENT FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

OF late years we have called attention to the great service which is constantly being rendered to students of the Greek Bible by the Württemberg Bible Society of Stuttgart. Erwin Nestlé's revised form of his father's pocket Greek Testament, with a useful textual apparatus, the student's wide-margin edition of the same book, Rahlfs's beautifully printed and marvellously cheap edition of the Septuagint in two volumes, have all come out in recent years. Now we have a serviceable manual concordance to the Greek Testament. *Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, von A. Schmoller (Stuttgart, Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt) costs in this country about eight shillings, and for the preacher it is a most useful tool to have within arm's length on the study desk. This is the seventh edition of a work originally brought out by the editor's father in 1869, but the present edition is based on the latest edition of Nestlé's text. Two other new features give it great value. A special sign discriminates between words not found in the LXX and those which are common to LXX and the N.T. In the second place the Latin translation of the Vulgate is given under each keyword. An asterisk after a keyword indicates that all the instances in the N.T. have been cited. It is only fair to warn the student that this will prove in his case no substitute for the Moulton-Geden concordance. Many words are omitted, including some important prepositions. Under other words only a selection of passages has been given. For the working pastor this abbreviation may be no drawback, but anyone who is engaged in statistical work, or who wants to examine every use of a word in the N.T., will naturally feel that he cannot rely upon so imperfect an instrument of reference. Nevertheless, for the majority of those who are looking about for a valuable aid to careful study of the Greek Testament this book will prove all that they want. It is also a delight to the eyes.

Death has been summoning one after another of our veterans to the sabbath rest that remains for the people of God. Those who are interested in the work of that remarkable scholar Père Lagrange must not overlook the excellent account of his life and writings given by his old colleague and pupil Père L. H. Vincent in *Revue Biblique* for July, 1938. There is a beautiful photograph of the old scholar in his habit as a Dominican Friar. We are told the story of his early life and training, and of his heroic struggles to create out of nothing L'École Pratique d'Études Bibliques in 1890. This has brought world-wide fame to the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen at Jerusalem, as has also Père Lagrange's twin project, the most scholarly Review just

mentioned. For Palestinian and Oriental archaeology, as well as for critical reviews of works in every branch of biblical scholarship, the reader will often turn to *Revue Biblique* for illumination. The most distinguished contributions are those from the pen of the late editor, but he has gathered round him a band of competent contributors, and under their editorship the good work will go on. In Père Vincent's memorial notice a discreet account is given of the painful episode arising out of the Biblical Commission, when this most loyal and orthodox son of the Roman Church suffered from the suspicions of the timorous ecclesiastics who had the ear of the pious but ignorant Pope who followed the liberal Leo XIII. The voluntary letter of humble submission breathes a beautiful humility but it also explains why the student of the Gospels has always to distinguish between the value of the learning which Père Lagrange brought to his commentaries and that of the fettered judgement which he could pass on critical problems.

Two other veterans have passed away who represent opposite schools of thought and method in German New Testament research. Adolf Schlatter, formerly Professor of Theology at Tübingen, died there on May 5, at the age of eighty-five. He is best known to English readers by his article 'Holy Spirit' in the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*. Of his many published works the most valuable, perhaps, to the student of the N.T. are his two books on St. John, *Die Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten* (1902), *Der Evangelist Johannes* (1930), and two companion works, *Der Evangelist Matthäus* (1929) and *Der Brief des Jakobus* (1932). The special value in all these books lies in Schlatter's mastery of the field of Jewish literature, so that he can bring forward parallels in thought and language from rabbinic literature and from Josephus. His position was most conservative. Adolf Jülicher died this summer in his eighty-second year (not his ninety-second as I said last quarter, following a mistaken date in the note in Peake's *Recollections and Appreciations*). Of his many books there are two by which he is likely to be best remembered. His epoch-making book on the Parables of Jesus, appeared in two volumes, the first in 1888, the year in which he became Professor at Marburg, and the second in 1899. The whole work was republished in 1910 in one volume containing the revised edition of the first part, but with the second part simply reprinted. His *Introduction to the New Testament* gained a wide reputation in this country when Miss Janet Penrose Ward (Mrs. G. M. Trevelyan) translated the fourth edition into English some thirty-five years ago. Seven years ago an entirely new edition was written, partly by the venerable author, by that time almost blind, and partly by Professor Erich Fascher. Jülicher's general position and his gifts and limitations are set forth with admirable impartiality by Sanday in his lectures, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, a book which deserves to be far better known by the younger generation than seems to be the case.

One of the great needs of the student is a thoroughly competent survey of the historical and religious background of the New Testament—a rather more advanced and comprehensive book than that which

Professors Macgregor and Purdy have written so admirably for less advanced readers. This need has been met by the Breslau Professor, Dr. Herbert Preisker, in *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (Töpelmann, 1937). In some three hundred pages the author gives an account of the religion and philosophy of the Graeco-Roman world and of Judaism. But unlike Wendland in the one field and Schürer in the other, he is less concerned with these religious movements in themselves than with the situation in which Christianity arose and the influences over which it eventually triumphed. Historical events are disposed of by three sets of most useful tables of contemporary events. Three maps are appended to show the spread through the Empire of the cults of Serapis and Isis, of Cybele and Attis, and of Mithra. The book as a whole is a miracle of compression.

It is interesting to observe how much of the newest work on the New Testament revolves round the two subjects which were at one time either neglected in this field, or exaggerated with a one-sided emphasis—eschatology and the Church. A few illustrations may be given. Two books of more than ordinary interest have just been published, one in Berlin and one in Paris, by two German professors who are now in Switzerland. Dr. Wilhelm Michaelis of Bern writes a book on the Parables entitled, *Es ging ein Sämann aus, zu säen* (Furche-Verlag, Berlin, 1938). Its sub-title is significant, 'An introduction to the parables of Jesus about the Kingdom of God and the Church'. Where there is so much to suggest comment one instance only may be given, the Parable of the Lost Son. Here it is claimed that the father in the parable is a picture of Jesus. 'The parable has not as its subject the way by which individual men pass from alienation from God to forgiveness of sins, and therefore has primarily nothing to do with the psychology of conversion. But it turns our eyes to the fellowship of sinners and the righteous. It builds the society after the example of Jesus upon "joy over one sinner that repents"'. It shows the Church as the community of those who rejoice with Jesus over every one of His trophies.' In the concluding summary the author says, 'When Jesus speaks in parables of the Kingdom of God and of the Church, His purpose is not to set up a system, but to call men to decision. These parables contain no descriptions either of the Kingdom or of the Church. For the Kingdom of God cannot be described; and even where the events attending its coming, such as the last judgement, are mentioned, this is done only with great reserve and in allusive metaphors. The Church, however, is treated not as an earthly institution, but as the community of Jesus Christ. The relation to His person is common to all these parables. The reason why they were spoken, recorded, and handed down to us, is to invite faith'. The other book is by Professor K. L. Schmidt, of Basel, formerly of Bonn. It consists of four lectures delivered in German at Copenhagen, but translated into French: *Le Problème du Christianisme primitif* (Paris, Librairie Leroux, 1938). The titles of the lectures speak for themselves, 'Basis, purpose and limits of the method of Form-criticism applied to the Gospels'; 'Jesus of Nazareth, Messiah and Son of Man'; 'The Triune

God, subject and object of Faith'; 'Kingdom, Church, State and People; relations and contrasts'. Every page of the hundred in this booklet deserves careful study. Perhaps most readers will find the freshest material in the argument in the second lecture which lays great stress upon the emphatic use of the personal pronoun 'I' in the sayings of Jesus.

At present Eschatology is very much to the fore. But before we can show that in 'realized eschatology' we have taken the most important step towards the reconciliation of Synoptic with Johannine eschatology it is necessary to give much more attention to the Marcan apocalypse. For this reason we welcome a study by Friedrich Busch in the series 'Neutestamentliche Forschungen' edited by Professor Otto Schmitz, to which attention has often been drawn in this survey. The title is *Zum Verständnis der synoptischen Eschatologie Markus 13 neu untersucht*, (Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1938). The writer does not accept the theory, which has won such wide support since Colani advanced it, that an independent apocalypse has been interwoven with some sayings of Jesus in this chapter of Mark. 'The three chief thoughts which run parallel in chapters 8 and 13 are confession in the tribulation, expectation of the nearness of the Kingdom, and certainty regarding the coming of a last day which lies in the uncertain future. A time of tribulation (just *when*, no man knows) must come before the Parousia, the future brings no signs but only conflict, demanding faith and vigilance. Thus the title "Parousia-discourse" is less apt than misleading, especially if the conclusion is reached that important parts of the chapter are drawn not from Christian but from Jewish-apocalyptic sources. For here it is of all others rather than of Himself that Jesus is speaking, although the main theme of the discourse is supposed to be His return! The chapter has less to say about the end of the world than of the tribulation, which precedes the end of the world.' Again, 'However lively may have been the certainty of the approaching and present redemption, the expectation of the parousia, the prayer for the speedy Advent, the reckoning (of the expected date) would have been a contradiction of the preaching, that is the preaching of the passion, of the cross, of the Crucified. And this preaching of the Crucified was always and everywhere the one and only *kerygma*'. It is interesting to observe that the author finds his interpretation of this chapter approximating to the conception found in the Johannine farewell discourses.

But are eschatology and mysticism mutually exclusive, and is it therefore impossible to find them both in the Fourth Gospel? As far back as 1930 a book was written by Professor H. E. Weber, of Bonn, with the title *Eschatologie und Mystik im Neuen Testament* (Bertelsmann) in the series of 'Beiträge zur Forderung christlicher Theologie' edited by Schlatter and Lütgert. In this book the whole N.T. is examined to find the various ways in which these elements in primitive Christian thought are fused. Hebrews and 1 Peter are illustrations of 'mystical hope-faith', the Pauline letters provide us with 'hope-mysticism of the Pauline faith in Christ'. The beginnings of the

Church show how the eschatological mysticism of primitive Christianity was based upon the Easter-faith. The Johannine type is strangely described as 'historical mysticism of faith in eternity'. There is much that is suggestive, but the writer suffers from the tendency to think that a rich supply of labels will solve problems of interpretation. Two other books may be mentioned which bear upon kindred subjects, *Die johanneische Anschauung vom 'Leben'*, by Hans Pribnow (Greifswald, 1934), and *Das Johannes-Evangelium und die Kirche* (Kassel, 1935). The latter is a doctoral dissertation by a lady, Fräulein Doris Faulhaber, who studied under Professor Dibelius at Heidelberg. This is one of the most careful and comprehensive studies that we have met with on the theme indicated in the title, and it brings together both the eschatology and the teaching about the Church in this Gospel. Two other booklets might be named. Walther von Loewenich finds no eschatology in John. His *Johanneisches Denken* (Leipzig, 1936) has some valuable things to say about the evangelist's mind, but is less helpful in discussing the data in the primitive tradition of the life and teaching of Jesus which are dealt with in this Gospel. *Die Christusschau des Johnesevangeliums*, by Dr. Johannes Schneider is a simple devotional introduction to the theology of St. John (Furche-Verlag, Berlin).

The most important event this year in the publications of commentaries is the appearance of the second instalment of Bultmann's commentary on St. John in Meyer's *Kommentar*. This contains pp. 81-160, and carries us from ii. 5 to vi. 22. It is needless to say that the notes display an immense range of reading and throw light on many passages. How far some of the parallels really elucidate the evangelist's meaning is open to question. We are glad to see (p. 127) that under Lietzmann's influence Bultmann now recognizes that the references to John the Baptist in the Mandaean writings are late and irrelevant. We shall wait with eagerness the continuation of this valuable work.

The *Theologische Rundschau* has several essays of great interest this year. Lohmeyer brings to a close his series of articles about the Lord's Supper in Primitive Christianity. Two or three of his points must be briefly given. From the beginning theology affected the place and the manner in which the Eucharist stood in the centre of the believing life of the Church. But pharisaic tradition, far more than Hellenistic mysteries or the aeon-theology of Gnosticism, determined the lines of thought that were followed and the shape that it took. Immense as was the impulse which Paul gave to the theological thought and the missionary work of the primitive Church, he is said to have exercised only the slightest influence in determining the form and content of the Lord's Supper. There seem to have been three lines of development. (a) One started with the association of the Supper with the Jewish passover. (b) A second started on Galilean soil, with ideas springing from the miraculous meal given to the multitude. The elements become 'spiritual food and spiritual drink'. Sunday by Sunday the Church expecting the Lord's return offers its 'holy sacrifice',

and the Eucharist is separated to become a cultic rite in distinction from all other services. This line leads us to the eucharistic prayers in the Didache. (c) The third line leads to the Fourth Gospel, where the thought circles round the Lord and what He is and means to His disciples. Two other most valuable series of essays are those by G. Bertram on Septuagint research, and by W. G. Kümmel of Zürich on the criticism and history of the text of the New Testament in the light of what has been written since 1914.

W. F. HOWARD

### 'CHRISTIANS IN ADVERSITY'

*Dr. C. E. M. Joad Listens to Young Christians*

So much ill-informed and even insincere criticism is offered to Christians that we are apt to ignore honest and considered judgements. Whilst it is not true in religious matters that an outsider sees most of the game, a sympathetic spectator of Christian life can sometimes help by his impressions and opinions.

Dr. C. E. M. Joad rendered this service in an extremely interesting article entitled 'Christians in Adversity' which was published in *The New Statesman and Nation* of August 27. Dr. Joad attended the recent Conference of the Student Christian Movement. This Annual Conference, as most readers will be aware, is attended by hundreds of students and by some older Christian leaders. Each year it makes a decisive impression upon the lives of many young men and women, bringing to some a call to Missionary Service. The Conference also gives an accurate impression of the outlook of the more thoughtful younger Christians and near-Christians in each student-generation. The teaching at these conferences is that which, in a few years, reaches the congregations of many lands.

It is, so far as I know, unusual for a speaker who is not a member of the Christian Church to address these assemblies. Dr. Joad was invited and admits that he found it 'an odd experience . . . to see people drawing one another aside to whisper in accents of blended awe and disapprobation, "He's an agnostic, he is": to be snapshotted as a theological monstrosity by young ladies'. He himself spoke about 'our present predicament . . . as evidence of the inefficaciousness of moral exhortations'. But it is apparent that he listened to others, both in public and in private, with an attention that is a reproof to some of us Christians who rarely listen with equal patience and understanding to 'Free-thinkers'.

The most significant impression that Dr. Joad gained from this Conference was of what I may term the *Other-worldliness* of the younger people present. He noted the great influence of Karl Barth and Niebuhr upon their thoughts, and their emphasis upon the transcendental nature of Christianity. It seemed to him that they were not very much concerned about this world but thought of it as 'first and

foremost a place of preparation'. If this generation rejects Christ and destroys itself—so much the worse for it. The 'happiness' scale of values must be abandoned; 'the fundamental evil of man is not pain, but sin; the fundamental good is not happiness, but love'. It seems to Joad that this type of Christianity is blithely cutting 'the cable that binds man to his lot in this world'.

Although in one respect I do not think that Dr. Joad has quite accurately summarized the prevalent attitude amongst younger Christians, he has certainly drawn attention to a real and significant fact. I should question whether as much emphasis is laid upon heaven—a place where wrongs are righted—as he suggests. But, so far as any generalization about a generation can be true, it is true that the thought of Christians between the ages of twenty and forty is increasingly turning towards personal faith and godliness and away from social reform.

There are many indications of this fact outside the Conference described by Dr. Joad. Increasingly, both in Universities and in the life of the country generally, those who are most active in political organizations have little or no connexion with the Church and those who are devoted to Church activities are indifferent to political movements. The ardent enthusiasm with which various Groups—notably the Oxford Group—are received must be contrasted with the comparative apathy of many *young* Methodists towards such a movement as the Order of Christian Citizenship. The questions that are discussed in study circles and fellowships nearly always concern personal experience. In Methodism, if one wishes to hear an echo of the thought (though not the language) of the 'old class meeting' one naturally turns to the youngest adult members.

Most preachers find that congregations express weariness with references to Germany, &c., and think that anything but a passing mention of such matters as unemployment and the use of money is out of place where the 'Gospel' should be preached.

It is amongst the older members of the Church, those who were adult during the war, that what is commonly termed 'a passion for social righteousness' is most frequent. Dr. Joad himself observed that many of the older leaders of the S.C.M. Conference shared his 'suspicion' of the emphasis upon the transcendental side of Christianity. He writes about those whom he met, whom he describes as 'Left-wing Socialists and Pacifists', and apparently looks to them with a hope that is dimmed by the attitude of the younger generation.

Even if there be an element of exaggeration in Dr. Joad's portrait, it is well worth studying. To understand it we must remember what has happened in recent years.

I was present at the Quadrennial Conference of the Student Christian Movement in 1925—an international conference. In those days hope in 'a brave new world' burned high, and at that conference, in the words of one who wrote about it, 'we thought big and talked big'. We students were told that we should build Christ's kingdom on earth, repairing the damage that our fathers had done. Hopes

have dwindled since then, until from many minds they have vanished entirely.

Yet despair is not the only cause of the so-called other-worldliness of much contemporary Christian thought. Out of that despair has blossomed something of great potential value. It is this which, it seems to me, Dr. Joad does not recognize. The failure of humanitarian beliefs has driven many back to God. The fallacious belief that Christianity is an ethical system has given place to a true belief in Regeneration. It is true that evil, not pain, is the ultimate evil, and love the ultimate good. Christians are beginning again at the right starting-point—the Grace of God which can alone make men new. As the report of the last Quadrennial Conference of the S.C.M. put it: 'The Church has no social and political programme of its own, but it can lead men to the springs of cleansing and renewal. It can, by God's grace, create the creators of a new world wherein dwelleth righteousness.'

In so far as that expresses the mind of this generation of Christians we must 'rejoice with the truth', and refuse to be intimidated either by the dangers of this hour or by the kindly criticism of Dr. Joad.

Yet there is a very real danger lest the pendulum swing too far back. If it be true that some of us are saying 'provided that "we put ourselves right with God" we can let the world go hang', we must allow an 'agnostic' to call us back to the God who loved the world. Indeed, whilst belief in personal salvation is slowly but truly growing amongst us, this cannot be 'full salvation' until we care much more than many of us do that His Kingdom may come on earth. Without abandoning the way of personal evangelism, but rather increasingly following that way, we need to come to closer grips with the social evils of our day and to understand more fully the way of Christ in terms of our *common* life.

Such is the challenge which I see in Dr. Joad's article. Two suggestions may be made about our answer to that challenge. First, as regards Christian *thought* which ultimately affects Christian action, a further emphasis is needed. The history of Christianity shows that the 'pendulum' of thought has tended to swing towards one of two extremes: in Theology, towards the Transcendence or the Immanence of God; in Christology, towards the Divinity or the Humanity of Christ; in Soteriology towards personal Re-birth or towards Social Reform. To-day, as Dr. Joad accurately notices, emphasis upon the Transcendence of God accompanies emphasis upon Personal Salvation. I believe that the true synthesis can only be found as a new emphasis is laid upon the Divine-Human Christ, upon the Incarnate God, upon the Word who was made Flesh. It is as faith and thought are fixed upon the God who loved and gave for this world, upon Christ who entered into the worst of this life with the best of the other, that we may escape from the false other-worldliness into which we are drifting, and from the contempt of the world and the flesh. It is along these lines, I suggest, that those who share in the Christian ministry of teaching need to travel. Perhaps Barth, with his emphasis

upon the God who is wholly Other, has unintentionally led us too far from the God who was in Christ reconciling the world.

Secondly, in the more practical life of our Churches, do we not need to be much more definite and concrete with respect to our discussions, and much more adventurous *in the world* with respect to our actions? So many of us are afraid to discuss controversial matters, such as Pacifism and Communism. Our Fellowships tend to be self-contained. We do so much less than we might to help our people to adventure in Christian living day by day. Perhaps changes in our Church activities are called for which will take much planning and arouse some opposition. Certainly, if we have a never-dying soul to save, it is that we may serve the present age.

If we believe in God-made-Man we can neither despair of personal salvation nor remain indifferent to the earthly lives of the brothers for whom He also died.

FREDERIC GREEVES

### THE ORIGINS OF WESLEY'S COVENANT SERVICE

THE Covenant Service is one of the distinctive features of Methodism. As Wesley says, speaking of the renewal of the covenant on the first Sunday of 1790, it is 'a scriptural means of grace which is now almost everywhere forgotten, except among the Methodists'. This article pleads that we enter our third century, strengthened by this borrowed, but still-cherished means of grace.

1. THE PRACTICE OF MAKING COVENANTS WITH GOD originated in the 'Covenant Theology' (cf. Art. in E.R.E.) once popular, particularly among English Puritan theologians. Adam had broken the first covenant God made with man, but God gave man another chance in the covenant advanced through Christ.

The first Covenant was made here by the Scottish Reformers in 1557, and subsequent *Presbyterian* Covenants were national in their scope, the supreme example being the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, a Covenant to support 'the reformed religion'. It was an advance on the practice of the Continental Anabaptists in that it was a written document to be signed and was national in its scope.

The church-covenant was the basis of the church-life of the *Congregationalists* (cf. *The Church Covenant Idea*, by Champlin Burage). Browne, the founder of Congregationalism, in his *Booke which Sheweth*, says a church is first planted and gathered under one government, when its members give themselves to God as His people. Theirs was a covenant between the members as well as between them and God. In *A True and Short Declaration*, he tells how his church at Norwich was organized in this way in 1580, the people agreeing to each part of the organization by saying, 'To this we give our consent'. A church sometimes renewed its covenant later in its career.

The practice was extended to *political spheres*, when in 1620, the Puritans of the *Mayflower* signed a covenant at Cape Cod, to combine

themselves 'into a civil body politick', an example followed by a number of Massachusetts towns from 1639 onwards. Possibly the Social Contract (Covenant) Political philosophy originated in the covenant idea and practice, which may therefore have left its greatest mark in history so far, in the Constitution of the United States. But we must recall ourselves from that fascinating fork-road to our own route, asking the reader to note that Presbyterian covenants were national, and Congregational restricted to the local church.

## 2. JOSEPH ALLEINE'S FORM OF COVENANT.

Born in 1633, Alleine went, at 16, to Lincoln College, Oxford, where Wesley later was Fellow. He went to Taunton as assistant to the minister in 1655. Ejected by the Act of Uniformity for his Presbyterian views, he continued to preach, was imprisoned at Ilchester in May, 1663, and again in July, 1665. He died, November, 1668.

He was author of the Form of Words used by the Societies in making their Covenant with God in Wesley's Covenant Service. In its original form it began, 'O most dreadful God, for the passion of thy Son, I beseech Thee accept of thy poor prodigal . . .' and ended, 'And the Covenant which I have made on earth, let it be ratified in heaven'. *When did Joseph Alleine compose this Covenant?* It occurs in three places in the writings of Alleine and his father-in-law, Richard Alleine. We find it in *Heaven Opened*, the third part of *Vindiciae Pietatis*. This was published by Richard Alleine in 1665, but the chapters in it by Joseph Alleine, containing the Covenant, probably date from 1664, when he was in prison; for they show signs of persecution. But it had already appeared in *Vindiciae Pietatis, or A Vindication of Godliness*, by Richard Alleine, in 1663. Here he acknowledges it as 'the advice of a dear friend and fellow labourer'. It made its third appearance in Joseph Alleine's *Alarm to Unconverted Sinners*, published posthumously in 1672, but the writer believes the sermons contained in this book were actually in existence prior to 1662. There is no indication of persecution in them, and Alleine urges his readers to 'attend conscientiously upon the Word as the means appointed for thy conversion' (p. 145, Christian Lib. v. 14). He could not have written like this after 1663, when he was either in prison, expecting imprisonment or too ill to preach. The sermons were therefore probably preached before 1662. Stanford in his *Joseph Alleine; His Companions and Times*, includes in his list of Alleine's works, a folio sheet entitled, 'Directions for Covenanting with God, written some time between 1655 and 1661'.

We conclude that Richard Alleine derived the Form of Words, either from this folio sheet, or from the MS. of *An Alarm to the Unconverted*, which was probably compiled from sermons preached before 1662. It is likely that three or four years after his arrival in Taunton, Joseph Alleine urged his 'young converts' to use a Form of Covenant, so that that contained in the three above-mentioned books, and embodied in Wesley's Covenant Service, probably dates from about 1658 to 1660.

*It was a convert's covenant and was to be signed.* Richard Alleine in *Vindiciae Pietatis* says it was 'composed for the help of weaker Christians', or 'young converts'; in *An Alarm* it appears under 'Directions for Conversion'.

Joseph Alleine advised his converts to sign it. The Form of Words is followed by 'The Authors [sic] Advice. This Covenant I advise you to make, not only in Heart, but in Word; not only in Word but in Writing . . . set your hand to it', advice retained both by Richard Alleine and Wesley. In advising this, Alleine must have felt that it was as important that converts should sign the Covenant, as that the national leaders should sign Presbyterian Covenants, or church members subscribe to the Congregational church-covenant.

### 3. RICHARD ALLEINE'S USE OF JOSEPH ALLEINE'S COVENANT.

In 1663 the Presbyterians were commencing their existence outside the Church of England as Dissenters. Naturally they were driven back on covenanting to give their churches strength. But whereas in Scotland, the Covenanters of these years rallied around the National Covenants of 1638 and 1643, Richard Alleine found, for English Presbyterians, a personal rather than national covenant, in his son-in-law's convert's covenant. The Congregationalists' church covenant method of establishing churches must also have occurred to him as he wondered how Presbyterianism would face the unknown future. In his *Vindication of Godliness* he therefore appealed in 1663 to all his readers to covenant with God in his son-in-law's terms.

In the first discourse of his book, he opposes revolutionary methods of advancing Puritanism, declares that the Christian must be a 'Precisian' (practically synonymous with Puritan), and that such are not 'fools' but 'wise' (Eph. v. 12). The second Discourse denies that the Precisian's religion is 'all imagination', arguing that the doctrines of godliness are real truths, and its duties and comforts no fancies. In *The Application of the Whole*, he gives five 'Directions to the ungodly in order to bring them to a godly life'. He urges—1, we must realize the supremacy of the eternal over the temporal; 2, must make our choice; 3, embark with Christ, and, 4, resign ourselves to God in Christ; 5, by making a formal Covenant. Then follows his son-in-law's convert's Covenant. Wesley embodied these five directions and the Covenant in his Covenant Service with but slight alteration.

In the second part of the Application, he gives directions 'To the Godly, in order to the carrying them on in a godly life', and here we find his 'Directions for *renewing the Covenant*'. We ought to renew it particularly 'at our approaches to the Table of the Lord', a view of the Sacrament which appealed to Susanna Wesley, who may therefore have been one connecting link between Wesley and Richard Alleine. We can renew our covenant by reading it over, 'and then, in the like solemn manner, as thou hast been before directed, engage thyself again to the Lord in the same covenant'.

Persecution under the Act of Uniformity is the background of Alleine's book. He puts these words on the lips of the sinner, ' . . .

put me to doing, or put me to suffering'. They are reminiscent of the close of Joseph Alleine's letter from the Common Gaol at 'Juelchester' (August 31, 1663) to Christian friends in Taunton, 'Yours to serve you in the Gospel, whether by Doing or Suffering'. Richard Alleine provided the Covenant for the members of a Church commencing its separate existence in a new age in face of fierce persecution.

#### 4. HAD A CONVERT'S COVENANT BECOME ALMOST A CHURCH-COVENANT, AND POSSIBLY UNDER 'WESLEYAN'-CONGREGATIONALIST INFLUENCES?

In *Vindiciae Pietatis* Alleine says of Joseph Alleine's Covenant, 'I do with much zeal, for the establishing of souls in holiness and comfort, commend it to the use, not only of young converts, but of the more grown Christians, that have not experimented this or the like course' (*ibid.*, p. 142). He wanted all Presbyterians to face the new conditions of their church life by making their Covenant with God. As with the Congregationalists it was to be the foundation act of the life of their church under its new conditions.

We must guard against too complete an identification of this Covenant with the Congregationalist church-covenant (cf. Owen, *True Nature of a Gospel Church*, Works, v. 16, pp. 12, 25, 27, for Congregationalist idea). Alleine's Covenant was between the soul and God and not with fellow Christians. It was the covenant of grace, dealing with religion, not church-government. He advised all his people to take it, but left it in the first person singular—it remained an individual promise to God. But in urging, not converts only, but mature Christians, to take this course, just at the time when Presbyterianism was commencing its separate existence in England, he probably did so feeling that their churches would need a rallying-point similar to the Congregational church-covenant. But he believed that could best be found, not in an explicit agreement about church government, but in an explicit personal relationship between the individual Presbyterian and his God.

Possibly Joseph Alleine anticipated him in using his Convert's Covenant for all church-members. Contrary to his usual practice, in *The Author's Advice* already mentioned he addresses readers as 'you', returning immediately after to 'thou', the singular pronoun. This may mean his advice to sign the Covenant was given not to isolated converts but to groups. If so did he not think of urging all members to covenant with God? The *Remaines of Joseph Alleine* (London, 1674) contain 'A Discourse made by Mr. Joseph Alleine on a night of Solemn Thanksgiving . . . with his people in Taunton some dayes before the Five-mile Act came into force, by vertue of which he was then to leave them'. He urged them to praise God as saints in general, by 'saints' meaning those who had 'passed under the Bond of His Covenant' (p. 103), 'the living Stones of the Temple'. He had evidently been considering the Congregationalist Church-covenant idea and felt that covenanted Christians formed the Church.

Had any Congregationalist influenced either of the Alleines in this direction? A fascinating possibility presents itself. *Vindiciae Pietatis*

was published in 1663. That same year Joseph Alleine came under the influence of an ardent Congregationalist, who had been ejected from his living in Dorset for attempting to form a 'gathered' church in the Congregationalist manner. This was none other than John Westley, the paternal grandfather of the Founder of Methodism. Stanford says that from March to the beginning of May, 1663, he was an enthusiastic follower of Alleine, preaching frequently for him. Did he urge the Alleines to use the convert's Covenant for the saints of the churches as well as for sinners? Did he draw them thus far in the direction of the church-covenant idea?

##### 5. THE WIDE USE OF COVENANTING BETWEEN THE RESTORATION AND 1700.

Many licences were taken out under the Declaration of Indulgence of 1672. Presbyterian churches were compelled to rely on themselves more than was the normal Presbyterian ideal, so many adopted the Congregationalist practice. Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood* tells us Heywood was licensed April 20, 1672, and then formed his people into a church-order by means of a covenant, and 'in a similar manner were the foundations laid of many other congregations throughout the kingdom' (p. 237). It is significant that in the three years following 1672, when many Presbyterian churches were formed, seventy thousand copies of Joseph Alleine's book were sold. Heywood says in *Meetness for Heaven*, 'I have observed a commendable practice of some Christians, which is, to order some books to be distributed at their funerals: the first that I know of this nature was Mr. R. A.'s *Vindiciae Pietatis* (*ibid.*, p. 380). A candidate for ordination in 1689, a Mr. Peter Green from Manchester, 'followed Mr. Joseph Allein's method and much of his views of covenanting' (pp. 362-5).

Evidently the use of the church-covenant was common enough in Presbyterian as well as Congregational churches, and Alleine's more personal Covenant must also have been widely used between the Restoration and 1700.

##### 6. WESLEY'S ADOPTION AND USE OF THE COVENANT OF THE ALLEINES.

(a). *First Methodist Covenant Service, January 1, 1748.* The covenant is first mentioned in his Journal, Christmas Day, 1747—'Both this and the following days, I strongly urged the wholly giving up ourselves to God, and renewing in every point our covenant, that the Lord should be our God'. In later years, Wesley prepared for the use of the set form of Covenant on New Year's Day, by appealing for some days in advance. We therefore presume the following refers to some form of covenant having been made on January 1, 1748, 'We began the year at four in the morning, with joy and thanksgiving. The same spirit was in the midst of us, both at noon and in the evening. Surely, we shall, at length, present ourselves a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God'.

(b). *First use of Richard Alleine's Form of Covenant, August 11, 1755.* Covenanting is not mentioned again until 1755, but in the meantime

Wesley published *Vindiciae Pietatis* in 1753. On August 6, 1755, Wesley records, 'I mentioned to the congregation another means of increasing serious religion, which had been frequently practised by our forefathers, and attended with eminent blessings: Namely, the joining in a covenant to serve God . . . I explained this for several mornings following: and on Friday, many of us kept a fast unto the Lord, beseeching him to give us wisdom and strength, to promise unto the Lord our God, and keep it'.

'Another means of increasing serious religion' refers back to 'a day of solemn thanksgiving' held July 7, 1755, under the influence of John Gillies' book, *Historical Collections regarding the success of the Gospel and Eminent Instruments employed in promoting it* (Glasgow, 1754, 2 vols.). This book refers to the practice of covenanting. In Chapter 2 of Book IV, which contains an account of Wesley's own work, we read 'Of the Revival in Massachusetts in 1680 upon a Solemn Renewing of Covenant with God and one another' (vol. 2, p. 20). Please notice that the company which settled in Dorchester, Mass., in 1630, was formed into a church estate by a church covenant, before it left England, through Rev. John White's influence. Wesley, rightly or wrongly, regarded White as one of his ancestors, which may explain his statement that covenanting was 'frequently practised by our forefathers'. Gillies' book was therefore responsible for reminding Wesley of covenanting.

On August 11, 1755, having urged the practice on the 6th, Wesley used the Covenant contained in Richard Alleine's book, which he had so recently published. He says, 'I explained once more the nature of such an engagement; and the manner of doing it acceptably to God. At six in the evening we met for that purpose, at the French Church in Spitalfields. After I had recited the tenor of the Covenant proposed, in the words of that blessed man Richard Allen, all the people stood up, in testimony of assent, to the number of 1800 persons'. Notice that the people did not signify their assent by speech or signature, but by standing.

Wesley was so impressed with the service that he introduced it elsewhere soon afterwards; at Bristol, October 15, 1755; Dublin, Good Friday, April 14, 1758; and at Cork, July 25, 1758.

His use of Richard Alleine's Form of Covenant directed him to its origin in Joseph Alleine's book, for under April 13, 1757, we read, 'On Good-Friday, in the evening, at the meeting of the Society, God was eminently present with us. I read over and enlarged upon Joseph Alleine's directions for a thorough conversion to God, and desired all, who were able, would meet me on Monday, that we might perform our vows unto the Lord'. Thus he read to his society, Chapter VI of Joseph Alleine's *Alarm*, headed 'Containing Directions for Conversion'. Direction X introduces the Form of Covenant which he had previously used from Richard Alleine's book. Although he had found his way to the original Form of Covenant in Joseph Alleine's book, he must have preferred the Form as expanded by Richard Alleine, for on Sunday, September 30, 1764, 'The whole

society (at Bristol) met in the evening, and jointly renewed their covenant with God, in a form recommended by Mr. Richard Alleine'.

(c). *Use of New Year's Day, and later the first Sunday in the year.* On January 1, 1766, Wesley repeated the experiment of New Year's Day, 1748. But possibly, prior to 1766, his people had met together for this purpose on New Year's Day, for his entry in 1766 reads, 'In the evening we met, *as usual*, at the Church in Spitalfields, to renew our covenant with God'. Possibly, however, the reference is to the place. There are explicit references in the *Journal* to the renewal of the Covenant at the Spitalfields Church on New Year's Day for each year from 1770 to 1778, except 1774. Although in the earlier years the service was held on other days, the appropriateness of New Year's Day was soon seen.

But in 1780 the service took place on December 31, presumably because it was more convenient on that day, a Sunday, than on the Monday. In 1782, Wesley must have considered the first Sunday in the year still more suitable than the last in the old year, so that it was held on Sunday, January 6, and from then onwards Wesley held it on the first Sunday of each year. In 1786 it was held at 3 p.m., 'as more convenient to the generality of the people' than 5 p.m. at which hour it had been held previously.

(d). *Wesley's Publication of a Printed Form of Covenant Service.* In 1778 the Covenant Service was held at Conference. Probably Wesley wanted to see the use of the service extended, for it was done after he 'had several times explained the nature of it'. The concluding hymn was 'Come let us use the grace divine'. Wesley's advocacy probably also led Thomas Lee of Sheffield, one of his preachers, to issue what was the first printed Methodist Covenant Service on December 10, 1779. Its title was 'Extract from the Thirtieth Volume of the Christian Library, published by Rev. Mr. Wesley', and it cost 1d. In an interesting preface he says, 'In the Principal places on that Day (i.e. New Year's Day) at Two in the Afternoon, first we have Preaching: afterwards the Society . . . stay behind, and after Singing and Prayer, when the People stand up or kneel down, and in a solemn Manner renew their Covenant-Relationship with the Lord; then conclude with hearty Prayer for ourselves, for the Church of God, and for Mankind in general . . . I should . . . desire the practice might become general, wheresoever a Preacher can be present, and even in the little country Places, should desire the Leader and Society to meet, after Singing and Prayer to read and renew their Covenant with God'.

The Form of Covenant Service which follows is much shorter than that published later by Wesley. It commences with Point IV, 'Resign and Deliver up yourselves to God in Christ', and proceeds with Point V, 'Confirm and Compleat [*sic*] all this by a solemn Covenant'. It includes one reference to signing the Covenant—'having opened your mouths and subscribed with your hands to the Lord'. Strangely enough it omits the explicit Covenant itself, although it is hardly

likely Lee used another Form of Words, for he included Richard Alleine's acknowledgement of Joseph Alleine's Covenant.

The obvious inadequacies of this booklet must have led Wesley to issue his first edition of the service in 1780, which was very popular, for a third edition is dated 1784, a fourth, 1787, and a fifth, 1794.

Wesley prints in the plural the few directions immediately before the explicit Covenant, ultimately derived from Joseph Alleine, in whose book they are in the singular. He obviously preferred Richard Alleine's adaptation for his societies as he intended it primarily for public rather than private use. The Congregational idea that the church was making its covenant was not clearly present, nevertheless the 'society' rather than the 'congregation' renewed its covenant, which was therefore not the act of isolated converts, but of a united Christian community. In the fifth edition we find the two hymns—'Come let us use the grace divine', and 'Lord, if thou didst thyself inspire'. The former brings out perfectly the corporate nature of the covenant. If it was not a church-covenant, the whole society, or church, met together that its members might make their covenant as a corporate body.

Nevertheless, it remained a completely personal act. At the first service in 1755, the people signified assent by standing. There was, therefore, apparently no intention of asking them to sign. But Wesley approved that practice, for after the Covenant he printed Joseph Alleine's advice, urging his readers to sign it.

#### 7. INFLUENCES WHICH LED WESLEY TO ADOPT THE COVENANT SERVICE.

(a). *The connexion between his grandfather, John Westley and the Alleines.* Wesley displays no knowledge of the possibility that his grandfather urged the Alleines to use the convert's Covenant for church members as well as new converts. Nor does he show that he knew of the connexion of his grandfather and Joseph Alleine, for when he visited Taunton on September 2, 1789, he mentioned Alleine in his *Journal* but was silent about the association of the two men.

Nevertheless, the writer feels it is possible he was aware of the connexion for Mrs. John Westley survived until 1710. In 1753, when Wesley published Richard Alleine's book, he also published *An Extract of the Life and Death of Mr. John Janeway . . .*, brother of Mr. Peter Janeway, minister of the 'gathered' church at Melcombe Regis, of which John Westley had been member. Is it a coincidence that he should have published two books written by men associated with his grandfather—in the same year? It is at least possible that when Wesley wrote in 1755 of the Covenant Service as 'frequently practised by our forefathers', he had his own grandfather in mind.

(b). *Rev. John White of Dorchester.* Frances Rose-Troup in her book on this character (London, 1931, pp. 392-3), doubts whether he was actually Wesley's grandmother's father, as Wesley claimed (Letter to Charles, January 15, 1768). The writer shares this doubt. However,

we have shown that White was responsible for forming some of the New England colonists into a church estate before they left England in 1630, and that it was reading of the renewal of the covenant by their successors in 1679, which re-directed Wesley's attention to the practice in 1755. Although Wesley certainly believed in the relationship in 1768, it is not certain that he did so in 1755. If he did, then he probably thought of White as one of the 'forefathers' who had 'frequently practised' this 'means of increasing serious religion'.

(c). *His mother and her father, Samuel Annesley.* Susanna wrote to her son Samuel (August 20, 1707) of 'those vows and obligations you have laid upon yourself, in the covenant you personally made with the ever-blessed Trinity, before your reception of the Holy Communion' (Stevenson, *Memorials of the Wesley Family*, p. 187). This reminds us of R. Alleine's advice to renew our covenant 'at our approaches to the Table of the Lord'. Writing to John some years later, she asks him to discover 'whether you are in a state of faith and repentance or not, which you know are the conditions of the gospel covenant on our part' (E. Clarke, *Susanna Wesley*, p. 142). Was this Puritan emphasis of Covenanting and Covenant theology a survival of Dissenting influences? The need for personal dedication to God appears to have been stressed in her father's home. Her sister, Mrs. Dunton, said shortly before her death, 'O what a mercy it is to be dedicated to God betimes!' (Kirk, *Mother of the Wesleys*, p. 24). Susanna transmitted this attitude of the Annesleys to her daughter Martha, who records frequent renewals of her covenant with God, in her diary, between May 25, 1734 and July 29, 1759 (Clarke, *Wesley Family*, vol. ii. pp. 361-9).

Samuel Annesley probably derived the idea from Richard Alleine, to whose book, *Instruction about Heartwork*, he wrote a foreword when it was published in 1681, the year of the author's death. Annesley's meeting-house in Little St. Helens, London, was erected in the year 1672, when, as we have argued, Presbyterian churches were being organized in many places, with the use of Alleine's Covenant. If he was sufficiently familiar with R. Alleine to be his literary executor eight or nine years later, it seems likely that his church used his Covenant in 1672. Susanna Wesley probably therefore transmitted to her son her high appreciation of the Dissenting practice of making a Covenant with God, and in doing so, made Methodism the debtor, not only to the Alleines, but to the Presbyterian meeting house erected in Little St. Helens in 1672.

We conclude therefore that when Wesley spoke of the Covenant Service as having been used by 'our forefathers' he probably meant his grandfather John Westley, possibly John White of Dorchester, and almost certainly the Annesleys.

### 8. THREE SUGGESTIONS RESULTING FROM THIS STUDY.

i. The Alleines and Wesley printed at the close of the Covenant J. Alleine's advice that it be signed. This is a practice with decision cards. Why not use the Covenant service in this way to-day? Small

copies of the service, or of the Covenant itself, could be printed, with a space at the bottom for the signatures of our members.

ii. The connexions of the service with the Congregationalist church-covenants ought to be kept in mind. We ought to realize that our covenant binds us with Christ, not as individuals only, but as members of a local church, and since we are a connexional church, as members of the Methodist Church. Could not each church keep a Members' Roll, to be signed by each member after the first Covenant Service following its introduction? The Roll could be headed by a copy of the Covenant.

iii. Could not Wesley's Day this year be followed by a renewal of the Covenant throughout Methodism on the following Sunday? We face a new age, as troubled as that faced by Richard Alleine and the churches he loved, in the Restoration period. His insight is of value—let all our members, he urged, make their Covenant with God, in the same way as fresh converts. Our Church, composed of members, covenanted with God with all the seriousness of new converts, would face its third century, and the dangers and opportunities of a new age, with conviction—and with Christ.

FREDERICK HUNTER

### THE VALUE OF PHILOSOPHY

It will help us if we first define our terms, for it appears impossible to secure precise agreement regarding their meaning. In use, their interpretation is fluid. In his *Ultimate Values*, Professor J. S. Mackenzie says of the term Value, 'Its significance has been somewhat obscured by ambiguities, and by the fact that other terms have often been employed in its place'. He rejects the word 'good' as a synonym and inclines to worth. In its signification it is closely associated with Valid. 'A valid argument is one that avails to prove'. That interpretation will serve as a starting-point in this short paper. As a science, we are to inquire whether in its own province philosophy is valid. Does it serve its own ends efficiently?

What then is the meaning of philosophy? Here, again, difficulty confronts us. Dealing with the question, What is Philosophy? Professor Mackenzie asserts, 'To attempt to define philosophy would be a somewhat futile undertaking. The term, like so many others, has been and is still used in a variety of senses, wider and narrower'. Oswald Külpe affirms, 'All the attempts made so far to give a universally valid definition of philosophy break down when confronted with the facts of historical development'.

Tradition assigns the earliest use of the word to Pythagoras. It was to him the pursuit of knowledge. The Greek thinkers were accustomed to ask, What is the permanent reality which persists amid the changes of the visible world? Socrates thought of the modesty of the truth-seeker as opposed to the arrogant pretensions of the sophists, whilst Plato regarded philosophers as those who were able to grasp the eternal and immutable. A recent interpretation of the word comes from Wilhelm Windelband of Heidelberg. 'By philosophy',

he says, 'present usage understands the scientific treatment of the general questions relating to the universe and life.' For present purposes that will suffice.

The value of philosophy has not met with universal acceptance. There are those who positively dissent and deny its usefulness as an interpretation of life. The position is correctly stated by Eucken in his *The Life of the Spirit*. 'Human experience shows that at all times philosophy has had jealous opponents, who have declared that it is superfluous and indeed rejected it as harmful. That is the case with the specialist, who believes that the work of knowledge is completely defined when the world has been divided up among the different scientific disciplines; with the practical man who regards brooding and reflection as a hindrance to keenness of action; and finally, with the believer in positive religion, who thinks that philosophy undermines the security of faith and fills men with proud self-confidence.'

On the words, 'For after that in the wisdom of God, the world by its wisdom knew not God' (1 Cor. i. 21), the late Dr. Marcus Dods comments, 'No safer assertion regarding the ancient world can be made. To pass even from Plato to the Gospel of John is really to pass from darkness to light. Plato philosophizes and a few souls seem for a moment to see things more clearly; Peter preaches, and three thousand souls spring to life. If God was to be known to men generally, it was not through the influence of philosophy. Already philosophy had done its utmost; and so far as any popular and sanctifying knowledge of God went, philosophy might as well never have been'.

Opinions of that nature must be estimated by the purpose of the writer, and the subject with which he is dealing. In our enthusiasm it is possible to underrate methods of thought and ways of life which momentarily appear in conflict with our own.

The position may be clarified if we endeavour to ascertain the scope of philosophy.

The mind does more than receive and record impressions. It is our reasoning faculty, the power that reflects, considers, analyzes. We observe life and the universe in their various moods and functions, and desire to know how they stand related, how they operate and interact. What is the cause and meaning of experience? From the time that man began to think, he has been confronted with the problems, Whence have I come? Whither am I going? Why am I here? Philosophy is an attempt to answer these questions, to see life as a whole, and understand its meaning.

Whilst philosophy is related to natural science and religion, it differs from them.

Natural science examines and classifies the facts of nature. However, biology, physics, and anthropology, wonderful as have been their contributions to the study of life, differ from philosophy in this that whilst they deal with aspects, the latter deals with experience as a whole. 'Philosophy spiritualizes the universe that natural science has viewed in its material aspects.'

Religion has been variously defined. The late Professor A. S. Peake

argues that it is 'fellowship with the unseen'. Professor J. B. Pratt in his book *The Religious Consciousness* explains religion as 'The serious and social attitude of individuals and communities toward the power or powers which they conceive as having ultimate control over their interests and destinies'. In whatever terms we seek to describe it, it is essentially a personal relationship, and throws its feelers into the super-sensuous and unknown. Religion demands submission to the Divine will, and communion with the Eternal Spirit. It expresses itself in three forms, practical, emotional, and intellectual. Philosophy is closely related to religion in their search after truth and interpretation of reality, but philosophy lacks the immediacy of religion. There are those who maintain that knowledge of God and divine truth is intuitive, perceived without the aid of reasoning. Principal John Caird indicated the position thus: 'Not by arguments, inductive or deductive, do we attain to a belief in the existence and character of God, not in the formal definitions and dogmas of theology can we find the adequate expression of our spiritual convictions. We believe in God because we know Him, though we can neither prove nor define Him.'

It must be conceded that in an attitude of devotion, by simple faith and communion, the spiritual nature in man is brought into immediate contact with the object of its search.

#### Spirit with spirit doth meet.

At the same time we must maintain that the universe manifests mind and law, and that the God who is revealed to faith is also the God of nature. There is a unity behind and running through all Divine workmanship. Thus whilst philosophy does not pretend to make men holy, and cannot assume to produce religion, it certainly combines with religion to interpret the meaning of the permanent unity behind all the changes and variations of natural and spiritual phenomena. The possibility of attaining truth suggests that the universe of which we form part is intelligible. Truth has a direct bearing on life and determines man's reaction to the claims and duties of life. Men, therefore, as did the judge of Jesus, are constantly inquiring, 'What is truth?' There is a demand for a reasoned explanation, just as there is a religious experience and expression of truth. Reason thus combines with revelation to make truth understandable and practicable in individual and social life.

In his *Introduction to Philosophy* Windelband has an interesting section in which he develops the idea that philosophy has to meet two needs. Thus he says, 'men expect of it a comprehensive, securely based, and, as far as possible, complete structure of all knowledge, and at the same time a definite conviction which will prove a support in life'. That being so, philosophy has not only a theoretical but a practical importance. It must be confessed that for the ordinary man philosophy has little relation to the incessant struggle in which he is engaged to provide the necessities of his physical existence. That may be due in part to the ordinary man's lack of philosophic training, and then to the technical phraseology and rather abstruse arguments

of the professional philosopher. It must be remembered, however, that there is a close relation between thinking and willing, ideas and volition. By our reflections upon the facts and usages of life a sense of values is created, and that determines our acceptance or rejection of things spiritual or sensuous.

Man is not merely a machine moved by physical impulse, he is a spiritual being, a personality, acting upon intellectual judgements. Our mental activities enable us to discriminate and place experience in its various categories. Every man thus becomes a philosopher. Philosophy is not the nebulous and impracticable thing some people imagine it to be. When we inquire Who? What? How? we are shaping our approach to universal experience, and seeking to understand reality. Thus decisions are made which determine conduct and character. Some men become optimists, others pessimists. Dr. Schweitzer maintains that Kant and Hegel have commanded millions who have never read a line of their writings, and who do not even know that they were obeying their orders. We get into the universal stream of thought and are carried by this or that current, whilst multitudes cannot tell whence they originate or whither bound. We are constantly re-thinking other men's thoughts, and inasmuch as they kindle enthusiasms and direct energies, they are contributing to the bundle of life.

Philosophy attests that man is not satisfied with a *prima facie* view of the world and life. It must therefore endeavour to explain the spirit of the age in which we live in conjunction with that of every other age. Our much vaunted civilization has tumbled about our ears. Its failures disclose its faults. We are living in a ferment of conflicting forces, and men are reaching out after a solution of their difficulties. The phrase, the reconstruction of the age, is frequently upon our lips. Dr. Schweitzer affirms that a reconstruction of our age can only begin with a reconstruction of a theory of the universe. How far that is essential is not our purpose to discuss. We cannot approach the problem with an entirely open mind. Our view of life is more or less fixed. Some incline to one thing, some to another. Theories abound. In seeking new creeds, philosophy must indubitably play its part.

From the time of the early Greek thinkers the light has grown more and more clear. They believed in a principle of unity which was deeper than the special forms of existence, and which was abiding amid the flux of things. They conceived it to be (a) moisture ( $\beta$ ) air ( $\gamma$ ) order or numbers; but whatever the principle it was regarded as the beginning of things, and as A. B. D. Alexander in his *Short History of Philosophy* reminds us, 'this something is spoken of by more than one early thinker as "deathless" and "ageless".' The value of that perception was almost incomprehensible. It buttresses the religious belief in an eternal God. The processes of pure reasoning confirm the demands of man's inner consciousness. How far philosophy will help toward a new spiritual interpretation of life and the universe remains to be seen.

We cannot ignore the place of scientific materialism in modern thought. It excludes the religious view of life. It fosters the idea that sense experience is the test of reality. Naturalism not only distrusts but rules out the evidence of inward spiritual experience. It regards life as a purely natural process, and resolves itself into a mechanistic explanation of experience. Sir James Jeans sums up the matter thus, 'Each extension of the law of causation, and each success of the mechanical interpretation of nature, made the belief in free-will more difficult. For if all nature obeyed the law of causation, why should life be exempt. . . . The mind of a Newton, a Bach, or a Michelangelo, it was said, differed only in complexity from a printing press, a whistle or a steam saw; their whole function was to respond exactly to the stimuli they secured from without. Because such a creed left no room for the operation of choice and freewill, it removed all basis for morality'.

However far these ideas reach back they persist in some minds to-day. But can experience be explained by sense perception alone? Are the processes of the natural world the final form of reality? The philosophy of modern times, regardless of its disagreement in other matters, is mainly agreed that conscious life cannot be explained by mechanical processes. To quote Sir James Jeans again: 'Thirty years ago, we thought, or assumed that we were heading towards an ultimate reality of a mechanical kind. It seemed to consist of a fortuitous jumble of atoms, which was destined to perform meaningless dances for a time under the action of blind purposeless forces, and then fall back to form a dead world. . . . To-day there is a wide measure of agreement that the stream of knowledge is heading towards a non-mechanical reality; the universe begins to look more like a great thought than like a great machine.'

It simply means that there is a general idealistic tendency in philosophy which emphasizes the spiritual and teleological conception of life.

Of recent philosophies we note the position of Eucken. He maintains that 'superior to all natural order and human existence there is an eternal spiritual world which he sometimes calls a "spiritual substance" or "soul basis"'. In this soul world there lies the essence and worth of life as well as the goal and purpose of all endeavour. Hence we have a philosophy of life which, being accepted and acted upon, would enable our age to transcend the causes and effects of its present disasters and sufferings. It promises a soil in which religious and moral ideals will get an opportunity for expression and growth. To regard physical nature as the ultimate form of reality is to deprive men of a moral urge. By presenting a spiritual end as the object of life, and suggesting that it is attainable by spiritual means, contemporary philosophy is rendering a splendid service to mankind.

Such a conception of things serves to emphasize the value of the individual. It affords legitimate grounds for the use of such terms as human freedom, initiative, and will. No longer are we the sport of mechanical forces, the shuttlecock of circumstances, but purposeful

beings, makers of character and destiny. It gives support to the idea of personal immortality. We have a conscious life which, whilst associated with our physical bodies, persists amidst the changes of those bodies and all our circumstances. If there is a spiritual world superior to all natural order, it is not inconsistent to maintain the New Testament belief in the immortality of the soul, the continuance of a personal life beyond the grave. Canon Streeter has well said, 'In the belief in immortality the rationality of the universe is at stake. By our decision as to this the quality of Reality is finally appraised'. Add to that Goethe's postulate, 'My belief in our continuance after death arises from my conception of activity. If I work right to the end, nature is bound to provide me with another form of existence if the present can no longer sustain my Spirit'. There may be a wide ocean separating those and the words of John, 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be', but it is an ocean that touches both shores.

The definite claim can be made for philosophy that it takes us beyond the sensuous into the domain of the supra-sensuous, and seeks to explain life in the terms of spiritual ends. It posits a supreme end of life, and thus through all the varieties of activity displayed and thought expressed, works for unity. It asks Why? How? assuming that truth may be found. It has helped to create ideals which have become part of our actual life. Philosophy cannot impart life but assists to interpret it. Whilst it may never save a soul, or discover the God of Jesus, it has value in that it clarifies aspects of truth and thus stimulates moral action. Whilst it is distinct from it cannot be altogether divorced from religion. Seeking to give insight into the riddle of life and the problems of experience, it justifies its authority by the ideas it has created, the moral values it has stressed, and the quest for Reality it has encouraged.

J. M. GUNSON

### **'CIVILISATION: THE NEXT STEP'**

BETTER times are the burden of every fresh hope for the world. Yet while hope is the necessary groundwork of all our striving, something more than hope is required to attain the desirable goal. We must know the next step to take if we would succeed in the venture. This is true of civilization. If civilization is worth saving and capable of improvement, what is it that is needed for the achievement of the task? Dr. Burns,<sup>1</sup> in lucid style and non-technical language, has supplied an answer and has done so in the belief that this is a matter not merely for the expert but for each man or woman who has a concern for life.

Civilization is a word which, in these days, comes readily to the lips. Yet for many it has little or no precise meaning. What do we mean by civilization? 'Civilization is the name for a way of living. . . . Civilization is more than economics and politics can produce.

<sup>1</sup> *Civilisation: The Next Step*. by C. Delisle Burns. (Nicholson & Watson. 8s. 6d.)

Civilization involves all forms of rational and sympathetic intercourse between the members of a community, leading to the fullest possible development of each in perceptiveness, intelligence and activity in common with his fellows.' If this, then, is what is meant when we speak of civilization, in what way can we improve upon that which we have already inherited from the past? Underlying the question is the problem of a belief in progress. Can we and dare we believe in progress? Or is it the fact that, as Evelyn Waugh once suggested, there is no such thing as progress: all we have is change? The temptation is to argue this question until we are like the precarious Nero—we simply fiddle while Rome burns. The pragmatic test must be made. Theoretical formulations and abstract argument, while having their place, must not be made substitutes for practical tests. All beliefs must be tried out even though life cannot adequately be summed up in the phrase, 'it works'. It is impossible to answer the question of the likelihood of improvement unless and until an attempt to improve has been made. Yet, even so, reasonable men will legitimately demand to see wherein such an attempt can be justified. Dr. Burns meets that test, pointing out that 'the hope that men will be better than they are is not a blind confidence in future possibilities. It is based upon the actual achievements of past history, and in particular, for most of us, upon the achievements of the past fifty years'. In brief, there is evidence already of an improvement in civilized life which in itself provides a faith in the future and gives hope for the way of progress. At the moment it is necessary to have a clear perception of the next step to take.

The book is a direct appeal to ordinary people and is concerned with moral standards. There is a definite assumption that the chief need of our day is the knowledge of what it is right to do. Indeed, Dr. Burns would join issue with many preachers to-day who plead that it is not knowledge so much as power to perform what we know, that is lacking in our modern life.

An argument for moral standards leads, among other things, inevitably to the question of dictatorship. Dr. Burns is essentially a democrat—a believer in free thought and discussion—and, like Professor Whitehead, regards the absence of criticism as an indication of barbarism. Dictatorship, like class wars, is a return to barbarism. The next step in the way of civilization would include a greater freedom and room for the development and expansion of the abilities of the ordinary man. There are difficulties in the way. The evils of our day lie deeper than politics and industry, though these are admitted as making 'deeper evils more serious'. They are to be seen in 'an abnormal concentration upon wealth and power as "ends" and in the ineffectiveness of traditional moral standards'. And Dr. Burns is persuaded that the 'only fundamental cure' is to 'reduce the efforts for wealth and power to their proper place in men's lives—to aim at serenity of mind and social intimacy'. This sounds like a dissertation on the words, 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God', only it is a more thorough-going treatment than many preachers pursue. For Dr.

Burns is downright sure that the traditional methods for distracting attention from these undesirable things are ineffectual, and argues for a more scientific attitude based upon 'accumulated common knowledge of facts and moral ideals'. He denies that we have made no moral progress comparable to our progress in abstract and applied sciences.

The items of this moral progress constitute the scientific way of advance. There are values in the world as well as facts, and there are principles which can be 'drawn from the experience of efforts to produce good men or just communities'. 'Value' gives us our moral principles. And here we have the first stage in reaching the moral standard. The second is moral authority. 'Moral authority is the influence which one man or group of men may exert over another by their ability to make their sense of the ideal operative within the persons of those who submit to such authority'. Adopting such a definition, physical strength and armed force have little place in the next step toward a desirable civilization. 'No amount of force can be a substitute for moral authority. . . .' Yet moral authority demands a moral value called the Good, or Goodness, or Rightness.

All this presupposes a question concerning the kind of person and community required for such a step forward. In brief, what is the moral ideal for the next step? Here comes a plea for 'personality' and an indictment of mass mentality.

Indicating changes which have taken place during the last fifty years in the relation of men and women, the family, education, health, economic and political affairs and, not least, in moral judgement, Dr. Burns goes on to examine these changes in the light of their effect upon the ordinary man. He finds them far from satisfactory and in some cases definitely defective. Our present ways in education tend to spoil children—in the worst sense—and perpetuate bad methods and inequalities. Class distinctions are allowed to remain as an integral part of our social life. These must go in the new civilization. There must be no snobbery and no 'privileges'. A change in manners and customs is demanded and this depends, in some measure, 'upon the personal acts of individuals and conscious avoidance of superior airs'. Among other things there must be an escape from patronage, 'a refusal to admit any superior authority resting upon riches or membership of a special caste of gentry', a 'career open to talents'. Coming to a wider field, Dr. Burns deals with the question of 'the chosen race'; an idea which he definitely repudiates, and makes a strong plea for equality between white and coloured peoples. Hitler's idea of the pure 'Aryan' he regards as sheer barbarism. Christianity, he points out, was never the religion of a single nation or a chosen race. In addition to the recognition of a variety of equal 'values' among the races and nations of the world, he suggests the need of free contacts across all frontiers and the recognition of different stages of development among the peoples of the world. The idea of the common good, the place, importance and problem of the workers of the world, the making of peace, all receive able and competent

treatment. Here he pleads for a new and better justice, a new and larger freedom, a new and better internationalism; and throughout declares his faith in democracy to achieve it. 'Democracy cannot possibly mean merely a system for perpetuating abuses by finding excuses for them. It must mean a method of changing law and administration in accordance with changes in the facts of any social situation and in the sense of moral values.' The gaining of peace is a two-fold task. It demands an interdependent trade relationship between each country and international co-operation based upon the sympathy and goodwill of men for their fellows. The idea that peace means 'not-war' and disarmament is discouraged as being inadequate. He says quite plainly that mere pacifism is not practical politics and further declares that 'the prevention of war is not the chief purpose of a policy of peace. It is entirely subordinate in importance to measures for improving the system of co-operation among governments, both in promoting common interests, and in removing causes of dispute among them'. At the same time, he regards as a first step in the prevention of war, control of the trade in armaments and of oil and metals, and goes on to advocate that, as an immediate policy, we need a limitation of armaments of all the Great Powers and, secondly, a gradual reduction of these armaments.

In recent years much has been heard of the possible breaking-up of civilization. The expression has been used when the implications of such a 'break-up' were but faintly understood. The danger of war on a world scale, the arrival of revolutions and dictatorships, the breaking away from old customs and moral standards, have created apprehensiveness if not despair. The modern world has witnessed changes which have not only shocked its moral sense but have struck fear into its heart. The spirit of man has not come through this testing without hurt. Yet hope springs eternal and amidst all the eventful happenings of recent days and weeks one fact has been clearly glimpsed—the nations have been given another chance. At this critical time Dr. Burns, like the prophet he is, bids us go another way on our journey to the promised land. And like all worthy leaders, he makes a demand on us while, at the same time, he assures us of our destiny. He makes a claim for—ugly phrase!—'spiritual rearmament', though he would probably prefer to call it mental rearmament. 'The way by which we have made progress so far is not in doubt. It is the way of reasoning. It implies criticism of all authorities—social and intellectual. It requires experiment and free public discussion.' And this is the need of the future. With it, fear, 'the greatest obstacle in our way forward', will be overcome and hope, which destroys fear, reborn.

T. W. BEVAN

## Editorial Comments

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### AFTER MUNICH ?

The shock of 'crisis week' was followed by wide-spread but divergent criticism of the 'agreement'. Though the world welcomed the fact of peace, its many voices grew increasingly discordant. Praise, thanksgiving and recriminations were strangely mingled. Now, amidst the Babel, there are some things being said in unison. They are not shouted stridently but are spoken in graver tones. Men are learning that they are bound to accept certain remorseless facts.

We regard the recent deliverance with profound gratitude, but it is becoming obvious that one cannot repeat the desperate expedient of Munich indefinitely. The last few weeks have revealed the causes of the crisis as deeper-rooted than men thought. It is not sufficient to point to 1931 and the failure of the League to restrain Japan. One must go back to 1920 and the Peace of Versailles. We are compelled to recognize that the situation at Munich was the climax of a process which began as soon as the Treaty was signed. Too much time and energy have been wasted in allocating blame and condemning representatives whom the democracies approved. One fact is clear: we cannot rely on a succession of 'Munichs'. Such a conclusion does not imply ingratitude for so great a deliverance, nor despair of the future. It means that we recognize, as Mr. Gerald Bailey has said, that Munich was the end of an epoch and the beginning of an opportunity. The hour is critical. Events move more swiftly than public opinion, and more deeply than the sensational reports of lurid incidents suggest. What, then, must we do? What can we do?

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### A NEW PEACE CONFERENCE?

In spite of the noisy insistence that two ways, and two ways only, are open to us, there is an increasing body of opinion which is convinced there is a third possibility.

On the one hand there are those who believe that safety can only be ensured by frantic preparation for war. Even if such preparation were completely successful it could only bring the factions in Europe to a state of temporary and perilous equilibrium.

On the other hand there is the possibility of retreat before new acts of aggression, and the contingent necessity of bargaining for peace, at each new crisis, until there is nothing left with which to bargain. We do not believe that this is the intention of any responsible party though it is the inevitable implication of much that is being said.

There is, however, a third possibility. Before the representatives of the totalitarian states begin again to deliver their ultimatums,

the democracies can take the initiative by calling an international Conference to consider the problems which are threatening the peace of the world. There is so much good-will in men's hearts but there is a tragic inability to mobilize it. The first principle of the members of such a Conference would be to face all the issues bravely and generously—in particular to come prepared to make their own contribution to a permanent solution.

It is easy to assume that, though the democracies might be willing, the totalitarian leaders are in no mood to consider the matter reasonably. Even if that be so, it should not be a deterrent to the rest. If the democracies will make the brave determination to set their own houses in order, so that nothing shall remain in them which might jeopardize the future peace of the world, the peoples of non-democratic countries will take notice, whether their leaders consent to join in the discussions or not. Assuming that they begin by abstaining, is it not probable that such a Conference might present so attractive and reasonable a solution as would make its immediate appeal to the people themselves? Even in totalitarian states the government derives its ultimate power from the people. You cannot make storm-troopers out of thin air; they are men in the street in spite of the ubiquitous parade-ground. Convince the ordinary folk in any abstaining country that the peoples represented in the Conference are sincere and eager to contribute their fair quota, and one may expect a compulsion from within which will transform or adapt the régime.

It is unthinkable that we should fling ourselves back on the stupid resource of war, or of fully-armed peace, as an ultimate security. Nor can we watch despairingly the coming of a tyranny which makes war impossible only by enslaving a world. We must embark upon a constructive policy which is prepared to consider every radical cause of war, and to hasten to remove it, before situations deteriorate and the world 'looks into the abyss' again. A movement has been started and is gaining momentum rapidly. It demands our most careful consideration and our definite support.

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#### THE NATIONAL PETITION FOR A NEW PEACE CONFERENCE.

With a sudden and real unity the various peace organizations are concentrating on a supreme effort. Those who hold Mr. Chamberlain to have delivered the world from war, and those who are more critical of events at Munich, are one in this new task. It is hoped to secure, almost at once, millions of signatures to a petition which shall represent a great body of opinion in our land. The object is not to get a few statesmen together for an abstract consideration of academic points, but to begin perhaps a series of Conferences and sectional Commissions which will discuss the contributions which each country would be willing to make towards a real solution of the complicated problems of peace as a whole.

The colonial question suggests an initial difficulty. Are we to fight for our Empire or are we to hand over part of it to another power? Those alternatives do not exhaust the possibilities. The kind of Conference called for would attempt 'to create a new colonial system based on the maximum freedom for the colonial peoples and equality of trading opportunity for all nations'. It might mean the creation of new international supervision for such colonies as are not ready for self-government. To deal with the colonial issue as separate and divorced from the whole problem would be to court failure. Nothing can make for permanent peace which does not seek, ultimately, economic and military disarmament. The problem of the colonies, like the Semitic question and many others, must be brought into an all-embracing scheme, which leaves no conceivable cause of war outside its purview.

It is possible that, almost immediately, the democracies, at the invitation of Mr. Chamberlain, President Roosevelt and Monsieur Daladier, should originate such negotiations. The National Petition which is now being signed in this country is a matter of the utmost urgency. Whilst the petitioners do not dictate the details of such a Peace Conference, they do suggest the main issues which they represent. We commend them, wholeheartedly, to our readers.

1. Large-scale measures of economic reconstruction which should include a concerted reduction or removal of tariffs, quotas, currency restrictions and other obstructions to the freer flow of trade and commerce; the raising of the standard of living, through the united action of such agencies as the International Labour Organization; and the establishment of a permanent International Economic and Industrial Organization.

2. A solution of the colonial problem, which would recognize the interests of native peoples and plan for their speedy economic and political freedom. This would also place all dependent areas, not yet ripe for self-government, either under direct international administration or under the control of a strengthened mandatory system, giving the native peoples democratic rights and equality of trading opportunity, with access to raw materials for all nations.

3. The sincere and earnest endeavour to begin a limitation and reduction of armaments.

This may seem at first sight a scheme too ambitious or too risky in this mad and frightened world. We believe it to be a real alternative to war and to surrender. It would be impossible for any people, even though their leaders remained outside such a Conference, to doubt its sincerity. The desire for peace, whether such desire be the product of biological or moral motives, is almost universal. If the majority of the people of this country petition their representatives to take steps to call such a Conference, they will find an immediate response in America and in many parts of Europe. The most important factor is time. There must be no delay, if the peoples of the totalitarian states are to be brought to realize the depth of feeling in the democracies. Only thus can the whole problem be faced and

settled. Not till the *peoples* of Europe mobilize their good-will and co-ordinate their powers will 'passionate peace be in the sky' and in our common life.

Within a few days over three hundred thousand petition forms have been issued, which means a possible six million signatures.

Grateful as we are for the respite which came after Munich, we cannot rest content either in congratulation or destructive criticism. We have been granted the grace of a new beginning. Here, we believe, is a practical way in which the ordinary man may accept the privilege and the challenge. We earnestly urge our readers to secure literature, and better still, petition forms from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

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### FOOTSTEPS.

High on the slopes of the Sussex Downs is the outline of the 'Old Man of Wilmington'. Whether it be the likeness of Bel scraped out in the soft earth long ago by some Phoenician adventurer, or whether it be a signpost made by pilgrims on their way from the Priory of Wilmington to Canterbury, no man can truly say. One thing is certain—that kind hands have kept the pattern faithfully, marking it out from year to year. Yet in these latter days the lines are deeper, and long lines of whitened stones make the picture plain.

In some such way writers have marked out the footsteps of Francis of Assisi, so that every generation, since his day, has known something of his pilgrimage. In our own time we have seen the outlines more plainly as they have been touched by a Sabatier, a Fr. Cuthbert or a Salvatorelli. Sometimes we have followed, with Housman or Chesterton, so closely in the steps of the Poverello that we expected to catch him up on every page. But amongst all his recent biographers none has marked out the steps more plainly than Ernest Raymond. It is strange to think of him as a novelist writing history in language most picturesque. There is some deeper note in his fascinating book *In the Steps of St. Francis*. It is much more than an effort of imagination, made to satisfy its creator or interest his public. There is a sincere attempt to bring Francis back to us, living, as Mr. Raymond maintains, in an age 'more sadly disillusioned than any period within the last seven centuries and more sick for a God and a sanctity'.

The method which he adopts gives us a vivid background, for he has wandered literally along the way which Francis walked, and paused to write in the very places where Francis stopped to challenge a Pope with his disarming innocence, or preach to the world and the ages whilst he seemed to be talking to birds in a tree.

A less experienced guide might have made the journey tedious, but Mr. Raymond is more than a narrator of events, much more than a topographer; he is a fellow pilgrim with the son of Bernardone. One feels that he has found, more than most of his predecessors, the meaning of much of that life, so mysterious in its apparent simplicity. The dedication is a reflection of the author's approach and of his

mood. 'This book is offered to the Poverello himself, with humility but without fear, because he loved all things little and poor.'

Before one has gone many steps one learns that Francis was a lover craving the permanent, an artist craving the perfect, and a mystic craving the One, the Whole, the Timeless and the Still.

The book is full of discerning phrases which light up the truth more surely than a hundred foot-notes or cross-references. When Francis hears himself called to make complete renunciation, it becomes a positive experience. 'One arm of the eternal paradox took everything from you, but the other added all things unto you.' It is all very human at first. He must give up his ordinary possessions. 'But what did it cost Francis, who so loved animals, to sell his horse?'

We are interested in a new analysis of his inherited tendencies. 'Pietro was in great part the real creator of St. Francis' for the life of Francis 'is one long reaction against his father'. We discover, as we follow eagerly in his footsteps, that he was a dynamic genius with a flair for publicity, a pilgrim 'deeply unlearned', a true contemplative. We find, in fact, that his simplicity is so profound as to leave us following 'in the main, only his outer life. Of that long companionship with God which was his inner life . . . we shall not find the footmarks, because they are in the skies'. No one who has known the joy of journeying a few steps with the Poverello will deny those words of Mr. Raymond but many such will agree that he has found footprints others have missed, and for that they will bless him.

One of the happiest passages stresses the constant greeting of St. Francis. 'Buon giorno, buona gente'—'Good morning, good people'. Had it been possible he would have made those words the title of his book. 'They haunt me as the meaning of it all', he says. Perhaps that is the surest conclusion, for while there are vivid and dramatic descriptions, and many a brilliant background to a story which swings along with the rhythmic joy of a troubadour, or marches with the splendid certainty of a crusading saint, there is a passionate sincerity and a spiritual quality which is focused in that moment of discernment. No one has seen, more surely than Francis, the good in all men and the glory, for each, of a new day. No one has more faithfully reminded his age of eternal values. With tenderness and understanding Mr. Raymond finds Clare, and in her garden the footsteps. With admirable judgement and the smile of one who sees round a sharp corner, he shows us the Poverello face to face with Pope Innocent. 'Francis had won the Pope, but that astute politician had also captured Francis.' Nor are such judgements academic or remote. We are people of to-day and we are shown Francis against our own horizon. 'He was something of a Lawrence, an independent, wandering enigma, only he chose a land of the spirit for his Arabia.'

So we follow the trail to the amazing climax, with its stark tragedy. They are real footsteps, planted more deeply than some men have realized, in the soil of medieval Europe. Under so delightful a guide as Mr. Raymond, we could make the journey without feeling we were

pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp, or plodding critically in the wake of some hagiographer. It was a joyous adventure wherein we met many real people, and discerned at the last that Francis did not fail, since in his steps we found again his Master. That is tribute indeed to the pilgrim and his latest interpreter.

*In the Steps of St. Francis.* Ernest Raymond. (Rich & Cowan, 8s. 6d.)

## Ministers in Council

N.W. AREA MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION. The Rev. H. G. Kelley, the Secretary of this Association, has kindly forwarded to me the programme for the seventh annual session which will be held at the Chapel Street Church, Blackpool, from April 25 to 27, 1939. The general topic is Puritanism. On the Wednesday morning the Rev. W. Gollins is to read an essay on 'The Principles of Puritanism', to be followed in the afternoon by a paper on 'The Historical Expression of Puritanism', whilst the Rev. W. Shepherd is the Thursday morning essayist on 'The Puritan Tradition in the Poetry of New England'. At the public meeting on the Wednesday night the Rev. W. Allcock is to speak on 'The Legacy of Puritanism for the Life of To-day; For the Church', and the Rev. W. Wakefield on that legacy 'For the Community'. On the Tuesday evening the Association sermon is to be preached by the Rev. R. G. Pittam on the text 2 Cor. iii. 17, 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty'. The Rev. H. Fox will give a Presidential address on the Wednesday morning. The book list which accompanies the syllabus includes Louis Untermeyer's *American Poetry from the Beginning to Whitman* (Cape); Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England, 1815-1865* (Dent); Ludwig Lewisohn, *Expression in America* (Thornton Butterworth); J. Brown, *The English Puritans* (Cambridge Manuals); D. Neal, *History of Puritans*; J. B. Marsden, *History of Early Puritans and Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* (Everyman).

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SCUNTHORPE POLYGON. The Rev. T. Dale reports that meetings were resumed at the home of the Rev. D. T. Hatfield, Scunthorpe, on Friday, September 23. The subject for the morning meetings of the session was 'The Meaning of Paul for To-day' by C. H. Dodd. The Rev. O. A. Ward at the opening meeting introduced the first three chapters and stimulated an interesting discussion. In the afternoons study was made of Dr. Newton Flew's Fernley-Hartley lecture on 'Jesus and His Church', and the Rev. Herbert Fox of Goole led the conversations on this timely theme.

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MANCHESTER DISTRICTS ASSOCIATION. I am indebted to the Rev. T. Hacking, the secretary of this Association, for the printed statement concerning the seventh annual session to be held at the Oxford Road Church, Altrincham, from May 23 to 25 next. The subject for the sessions will be 'The Last Things'. In the morning of May 24 'The Jewish and Greek Approach' will be dealt with by the Rev. E. Langton, B.D., and 'The New Testament Approach' by the Rev. R. J. Smith. At the Wednesday evening public meeting, addresses will be given on 'Is Belief in a Future Life Credible?' by the Rev. J. Napier Milne, and on 'Otherworldliness in Relation to Social Duties' by the Rev. L. England. On the Thursday morning an essay is to be given by Professor J. Murphy, D.D., on 'The Eschatological Theory of the Teaching of Jesus and Some Modern Difficulties'. The Association sermon is to be preached by the Rev. S. G. Cobley. The Rev. H. G. Meecham, M.A., Ph.D., is the President of the Association. Amongst books suggested for reading are W. Manson, *Christ's View of the Kingdom of God*; J. Y. Simpson, *Man and the Attainment of Immortality*; R. G. MacIntyre, *The Other Side of Death*; W. R. Matthews, *The Hope of Immortality*; H. E. Fosdick, *The Assurance of Immortality* and H. Maldwyn Hughes, *The Kingdom of Heaven*. A letter is being sent to all ministers within the area extending an invitation to join the Association. 'To study a given subject during the winter months', says the note of invitation, 'to meet in the spring in order to pool the results of our reading, to be guided by men who have studied especially one aspect of the subject, and then to have an expert for a final survey, is indeed a mental tonic. And when added to this we have the comradeship of the brethren, you will know that we have a rich feast.'

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INSTITUTE OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. The Lincoln and Lincolnshire Branch of this Institute arranged for six lectures on 'Social Life of Bible Times' to be given in the Technical College, Lincoln, beginning on Friday, November 4, by Dr. A. H. McDonald (Lecturer in Ancient History in Nottingham University College). A special meeting for Parents is also to be held in Lincoln on December 7 when Dr. Basil Yeaxlee (of the Oxford University Department of Education and Editor of *Religion in Education*) will give an address on 'The Parent, The Child and Religion'. At this meeting the Director of Education for the city of Lincoln is to preside.

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DARLINGTON CIRCLE. From the Rev. F. C. Wilson I hear that during the past year this Circle has dealt in its morning sessions with Evelyn Underhill's *Worship*. The afternoon sessions have been devoted to various topics, including a discussion of 'Religious Drama' by the Rev. A. Thornton; 'The Poetry and Plays of T. S. Eliot' by the Rev. E. B. Hartley, B.A., B.D.; 'Browning's Religious Philosophy' by the Rev. F. C. Wilson, and 'Browning's Nescience' by the Rev. E. S.

Wilson. The secretary has been a member of this Circle since 1924 and speaks in high terms of its value.

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OLD HARTLEIANS' CLUB, BIRMINGHAM. The secretary, the Rev. L. Emerson, states that for the morning sessions this season H. H. Farmer's book *The World and God* is being taken and is proving stimulating. For the afternoons different subjects have been allocated to members. On September 9 the Rev. E. M. Wilson spoke on 'Anti-Semitism' and on October 14 the Club was favoured by a visit from the Rev. Gwilym O. Griffith who addressed them on *Mein Kampf*. For November 18 the Rev. J. J. Cook is appointed to review the Oxford Conference Report and on December 9 the Rev. R. Rose will lead a discussion on 'The Menace of Humanism'. The Rev. W. Walker Lee has been appointed Chairman for the present session.

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DR. NORTHRIDGE'S 'PSYCHOLOGY AND PASTORAL PRACTICE'. Written specially for ministers, this book (Epworth Press, 5s.) by Dr. Northridge of the Edgehill College, Belfast, should prove a piquant reminder of the distinctly modern turn now being given by psychological research to pastoral work. In popular style and with scarcely a footnote, Dr. Northridge deals in fourteen chapters with various phases of the mental and religious difficulties which may confront a minister in visitation and other church activities. Under each section reference is made to fuller and more technical treatment in recommended textbooks, and, throughout, the views of leading psychologists are quoted or summarized, but a valuable feature of the book is the recital of the author's own experience. Alcoholism and drug addiction, problems of temperament, the inferiority complex, unconscious guilt and adult conversion are among the topics dealt with. In a chapter on 'Confession and Spiritual Direction', Dr. Northridge expresses his conviction that 'Whether they are aware of the fact or not, the majority of people with whom the Christian minister is brought into contact in the course of his pastoral work would greatly benefit spiritually by a thorough exploration of the background of their mind. How much that seems trivial and unintentional spoils life'. This book should prompt to the wider study of which it is evidently intended to serve as an introduction, but even read in its own light should prove provocative and helpful.

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'WAY OF RENEWAL' SCHEME OF STUDY NO. 23. Under the general title of *Way of Renewal*, Schemes of Study are being issued from time to time by an Advisory Committee appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. No. 23 just published by the S.P.C.K., price 4d., is on 'The Bible as the Word of God' and follows admirably on the quatercentenary English Bible celebrations. The Scheme is divided into ten sections, available for that number of meetings of a study circle, each section having its own exposition of

standpoint, with questions for discussion and a list of suitable books for study. Good use is made in two of the sections of the distinction emphasized by Professor C. H. Dodd between the Kerugma or proclamation of the revealing and redemptive acts of God as triumphant self-sacrificing love, in Christ, and the Didache or doctrine which is the consequential human response within the fellowship of the Church that accepts and responds to the Kerugma in worship and the conduct of life. The Kerugma is unchanging but the Didache may change. Kerugma also is a statement of history, but more, it is an interpretation of history. To say that Jesus was born at Bethlehem is to make an historical statement, but to say that 'To you there is born in the city of David a Saviour', is not only to make an historical statement but also to give an interpretation of the fact. That Christ died—if no more be said—is no gospel. That He died for our sins is Gospel. One question therefore is 'Discuss such interweavings of Kerugma and Didache as are seen in the Pastorals'. The pamphlet will be found useful, both for Circle use and private reading.

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I shall be glad to receive further reports and also comments on any subject suitable for these columns.

10 Mainwaring Road,  
Lincoln.

W. E. FARNDALE

# Recent Literature

## THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION

*Record and Revelation.* Edited by H. Wheeler Robinson.  
(Milford. 10s. 6d.)

It is now twenty-one years since the Society for Old Testament Study was founded, and the event has been celebrated by the publication of a volume of essays under the editorship of Dr. Wheeler Robinson, broadly similar in design to the volume entitled *The People and the Book*, edited by Professor Peake ten years ago. The writers are all members of the Society, essays by honorary members abroad being included. It is hardly necessary to say that every writer is a recognized expert in the subject with which he deals. Methodists will be glad to see the names of Wardle, Lofthouse, and Snaith. If anyone interested in the Old Testament wishes to find a convenient account of the present position of its study, he could not do better than purchase this book.

Only a few notes are possible on individual essays. The first is entitled 'The New Sources of Knowledge' and has been written by an American scholar, Professor Montgomery. It includes, for instance, a brief but excellent account of the discoveries at Ras Shamra, and of recent evidence about the history of alphabets. Three essays follow on 'The Literature of Israel'. Two of them are by Professor Hempel, and provide valuable and up-to-date information both on the forms of Oral Tradition and those of written literature. The writer sums up by declaring that the Old Testament Canon 'reveals the attitude of the post-exilic community at Jerusalem to the fundamental questions about worship of God, history, and individual life'. This does not mean, however, that it does not also reveal earlier Hebrew 'attitudes' as well. Professor Eissfeldt's essay on 'Modern Criticism' covers so large a field that at some points it tends to be a list of references to relevant books. One of its most interesting parts is its discussion of the theory that all Prophetic utterances consisted originally of very brief oracles.

While some of the essays confine themselves to the *decennium* since *The People and the Book* was published, others can hardly do this on account of the nature of their subjects. This is so, for example, with the next three essays, on 'The History of Israel'. In the first, Dr. Wardle gives a masterly survey of 'The Imperial Backgrounds' from about 2000 B.C. to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. It is now fully recognized that the story of Israel cannot be understood unless it be taken in relation to the history of the Near East. Professor T. H. Robinson and Professor Rowley write the next two essays, under the

titles 'The Crises' and 'Political and Economic'. At this point, perhaps, though at this alone, there is more repetition than is necessary, for Professor Robinson does not keep closely to 'The Crises' but covers much the same ground as Professor Rowley. A very interesting essay might be written on the connexion between great political crises and the emergence of the great Hebrew Prophets. In the companion essays on 'The Religion of Israel', Professor Lods, of Paris, writes on 'Origins', concluding with the claim that the religion of the Early Monarchy was 'an amalgam of elements arising from the ancient soil of nomad Semitism, from Mosaism, and from the general civilization of the East, particularly in its Canaanite form. But in this mixture the directing and ordering principles remain those that the mighty personality of Moses had laid down'. Here there is a repudiation of the claim that early Hebrew religion was just another edition of the religion of the Canaanites. In Professor Porteous's essay on 'Prophecy' one may note the references to the cult-prophet and the claim that for the great Prophets Jahweh is 'the great Intruder in human affairs'. Professor Snaith is a leading expert on the subject 'Worship', with which he deals. To-day there is a renewed interest in this subject, and the whole essay is very much up to date in both senses of the term. The writer returns to the statements of the Books of Kings about Solomon's Temple, declaring that in it 'at different periods both (syncretism and polytheism) existed, but to varying degrees and in varying form'. The Editor himself contributes two essays to the volume, on 'The Philosophy of Revelation' and 'The Characteristic Doctrines'. The word 'philosophy' will surprise some, but for the general reader these two essays are especially valuable. They show how, amid the rather bewildering variety of Hebrew literature, there are certain ruling ideas, and it is these ruling ideas that make Hebraism important for all the world.

There remain five other essays on a variety of subjects. Professor Hooke deals with Archaeology, keeping within the last *decennium*. As it happens, most of the more important recent discoveries in this field relate to the earliest period of Hebrew history. Here, for instance, the reader will find information about the 'Horites' or 'Hurrians' and the latest additions to our knowledge of the 'Habiru'. Professor Hooke does not confine himself to a mere catalogue of 'finds' but shows how they illuminate the Old Testament. Professor Winton Thomas's essay on 'The Language of the Old Testament' is for students of Hebrew, but it tells of a very remarkable result of comparative grammar. Those who were brought up on Professor S. R. Driver's 'Hebrew Tenses' will here learn of his son's leading part in unveiling the true explanation of the mysteries with which his father so valiantly strove. Professor Oesterley writes on the history of Exegesis, not the least valuable part of his essay dealing with medieval Jewish scholarship. Finally, the late Dr. Montefiore, in the last piece of work that he did, writes of the value of the Old Testament for Judaism, and Principal Lofthouse, of its value for Christians. The former demurs to the reduction of Judaism either to a 'religion of law' or 'the religion

of the Book', though he cannot but admit that there is some weight in the implied criticism, while the latter is particularly happy in bringing out a new aspect of a rather trite theme, the way in which a proper knowledge of the Old Testament would have saved the Church from not a few mistaken theologies.

There are, of course, some places in the volume where some would like to add 'perhaps' or 'possibly' or 'probably', but these are remarkably few. On closing the book one is aware once again of the uniqueness of the Old Testament and of its permanent contribution to true religion. Like Jeremiah these scholars 'build and plant' far more than they 'pluck up and destroy'.

C. RYDER SMITH

*The Divinity of Jesus Christ.* By Professor J. M. Creed  
(Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.)

In the Hulsean Lectures for 1936, Professor John Martin Creed has made a most valuable study in the history of Christian doctrine. His plan is to pass in review the main types of interpretation of the Person of Christ which have proved to be significant in theological thought since the close of the eighteenth century. He begins with the intellectual movement which ushered in the nineteenth century, and considers the Christology of Romanticism as it appears in the teaching of Schleiermacher. Having shown how Schleiermacher's general approach enabled him to recognize in Christianity a distinctive Revelation, he turns next to the work of Hegel and illustrates the importance of his emphasis upon the historical element in the doctrine of Incarnation. A lecture follows on 'Creeds, Confessions, and the New Learning', in which the most interesting and useful section is a penetrating discussion of Kenotic doctrine, as developed by Thomasius, Dr. Gore, Dr. H. R. Mackintosh, and others, and opposed by Dorner and more recently by Brunner. Professor Creed next discusses the contribution of Albrecht Ritschl whom he describes as 'an anti-clerical High Churchman', and makes a useful protest against the common view that his principle of 'value-judgements' implies that Christ was not truly Divine. For Ritschl, he contends, 'the identity of Person and principle is of central importance. Jesus Christ is the Founder of the Kingdom of God in history. The victory of faith was won by Him, and is imparted derivatively to the Christian communion' (p. 89). In the chapter on 'The problem of Revelation', attention is directed to the views of Troeltsch and others, and a final chapter, besides providing an opportunity for discussing the views of Brunner, enables Professor Creed to develop three thoughts in the New Testament which he thinks, 'we may fairly expect to find a place in the Church's doctrine of its Lord'. These are first, belief in God as creative mind and will behind, as well as within, the world of sense experience; secondly, recognition of the governing principle that the Incarnation has its meaning as a revelation in time of the Eternal God; and thirdly, the Apostolic conviction that Jesus Christ was also the Divine agent in the creation of the world.

Throughout the book the argument is expressed with the insight and lucidity we have learnt to expect in Professor Creed's writings. Especially welcome is his combination of broad sympathies with a firm hold upon the importance of religious values, as illustrated, for example, in such a sentence as: 'Christian theology need not claim that the Christian religion contains within itself all truth, or even all truth that is of religious value, but if it loses the conviction that in Christ it has found the deepest truth of God, it has lost itself' (p. 112). The book emerges triumphantly from the test of a second reading, and indeed invites this, and the only regret one feels is that so valuable a philosophical and theological introduction is not carried forward into a critical and constructive presentation of the doctrine. That we may hopefully look forward to such a treatment from the hands of Professor Creed is the feeling with which many readers will lay down this wise and stimulating volume.

VINCENT TAYLOR

*The Church Through the Centuries.* By Cyril Charles Richardson, B.A., Th.D. (Scribners. 8s. 6d. net.)

What does the average intelligent person mean when he speaks of 'the Church'? The purpose of Dr. Richardson's book is to give a brief account of the historical origin of the various views of the Church, and to indicate the main lines upon which the concept of the Church has developed through the course of Christian history. With this aim he examines the life and thought of the early centuries, the period of Augustine, the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and the modern world, dealing in broad outlines with the story of the Church, and giving illustrations of his thesis from significant events in each period.

One marked feature of Dr. Richardson's essay is the parallel he draws occasionally between the early days of Christianity and our own day. He argues that the real values for which Communism and National Socialism stand should be included in a Christian view of life and the Church. To dismiss these movements as un-Christian is to fail to understand the world in which we live. In Western civilization men have been isolated by a mechanical age; they have been cut off from their real social heritage and from their natural surroundings. To recover the corporate sense of life and its union with nature and with our fellowmen satisfies a need of which the modern man is deeply conscious. There is a truth in Communism and Nazism which we neglect at the peril of losing the true meaning of Christianity. But the demonic and un-Christian element in them is that they elevate these two aspects of human life to the sphere of the divine and worship them as God. That is why they are basically opposed to Christianity. There are other reasons for this opposition, as Dr. Richardson knows, but this is the central principle which was at stake in the conflict between the Church and the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries, and Dr. Richardson fittingly cites the martyrs of Scili as examples of the final reply of the Christian to any demand for allegiance

to any divinity other than the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

With a sure instinct for essentials, Dr. Richardson sketches the Christian Church as a fellowship of salvation, that fellowship discovering its own meaning as the *Ecclesia*, the Body of Christ, and being enriched by the concepts of the *Sanctorum Communio* and the Catholic Church. The gospel of divine life and power was embodied in a community, a people. It was a fellowship founded upon faith and ruled over by the abiding spirit of Christ. The authority of the Church is examined with reference to Montanism, its attitude towards sinners is illustrated by the controversies in the time of Cyprian, and the definition of dogma by the condemnation of Paul of Samosata and the work of the Council of Nicaea.

Two observations on Augustine are worth quoting: 'The doctrine of predestination in Augustine must not be confused with determinism . . . predestination is not a metaphysical theory, but a religious judgement; it only gives expression to the deep insight that man's salvation is of God's doing and not his own.' 'Augustine was the first to identify the existence of the Catholic Church with the millennium.' Although Dr. Richardson distinguishes the dynamic and the static in Augustine's thought, he practically ignores Augustine's doctrine of grace, and nowhere indicates that after a thousand years this was one of the roots of the Reformation.

The Protestant Churches are sympathetically portrayed, including an account of American religious life. It is truly pointed out that the Methodists did not form a sect, and that Methodism combined institutionalism and individualism in a remarkable way (p. 209). Two words are omitted from Wesley's account of his conversion: 'I felt strangely warmed' is an incomplete quotation.

This book follows naturally upon Dr. Newton Flew's Fernley-Hartley Lecture, *Jesus and His Church*. Dr. Flew is concerned with the New Testament, while Dr. Richardson begins with the evidence of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. It is the more interesting to notice that the constitutive idea of the Church here presented is essentially the same as that set forth by Dr. Flew. Although Dr. Richardson paints on a large canvas, and detail is necessarily omitted, this book is marked by accurate and careful scholarship, scrupulous fairness and a fine spiritual insight, and it will give to the reader an intelligible and inspiring view of the Church and its place in the world of our own day.

S. G. DIMOND

*The Second World Conference on Faith and Order.* Edited by Leonard Hodgson, D.D., D.C.L. (S.C.M. Press. 10s. 6d.)

Canon Hodgson, who acted as secretary to the Edinburgh conference, is to be warmly congratulated on the production of this book. Here is the official report of the day-to-day proceedings of the Conference, including the Reports of the Sections, lists of the Churches participating and their representatives, the discussion on the proposed World

Council of the Churches, the Sunday Evening addresses and the valuable contributions of the President, The Archbishop of York. The material is well arranged and the setting out of the book made useful for reference. The Report, dealing as it does with such matters as The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, The Church of Christ and the Word of God, The Communion of Saints, The Church of Christ: Ministry and Sacraments, The Church's Unity in Life and Worship, is of vital importance to all the Churches. It is, as was expected, a definite advance upon Lausanne and points the way to yet steadier advances in the union of the Churches, provided always that it becomes a practical proposition to achieve union and that it is desirable and necessary. It is at this point where, in spite of probable agreement on questions of faith and order, any scheme for union may fail. Yet whatever the judgement on the desirability or otherwise of union, none will deny the value and worth of the work done by the Faith and Order Movement. The Report, while indicating many problems yet to be considered and resolved, is a remarkable achievement if only for its unanimous statement on the Doctrine of Grace. We hazard the opinion that the Conference rejoiced in having as its secretary the editor of this book who, on the question of Grace, has already written an able and well-informed book on *The Grace of God in Faith and Philosophy*. It is impossible here to discuss the full Report but we note with special interest that the liveliest and keenest discussion appears to have taken place on the questions of the Ministry, Sacraments and the Church's Unity. Apart from the Report itself, there are two outstanding features—the account of the discussions and the sermon by the Archbishop of York. In the former, the high standard of the contributions by men of different traditions and outlook is at once detected; the latter is characterized by an engaging frankness and directness of speech. Speaking of the 'barriers against completeness of union at the Table of the Lord' which his own church maintains, he describes this attitude as 'the greatest of all scandals in the face of the world'. Yet he believes that such exclusiveness is necessary until the element of truth which Anglicans represent is incorporated with others 'into the fuller and worthier conception of the Church than any of us hold to-day'. In his presidential address, the Archbishop reminds the representatives that they are there 'to find a way to union'. Other noteworthy contributions are those of Dr. Leiper and the Bishop of Dornakal. An absorbingly interesting chapter is that containing the Sunday Evening addresses and all readers will be grateful for the Introduction, Lausanne to Edinburgh (1927-1937). It will be of interest to Methodists to know that from this Conference of almost five hundred delegates, Dr. Lofthouse was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Section on The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

T. W. BEVAN

N.B.—It is to be hoped that a cheaper edition of this valuable book will speedily be published. The Report is already printed in pamphlet form.

*The Work of Christ.* By Peter Taylor Forsyth. (Independent Press. 4s. 6d.)

This is a reprint of one of Dr. Forsyth's most famous works. It includes a portrait and a memoir by his daughter. The memoir makes no attempt to tell the story of Dr. Forsyth's theological work, but it does show the reader what manner of man he was. Here is an account of a man who left a Theological College before he completed his course because he felt that he was wasting his time, yet ended by becoming the Principal of such a College; of a man who was refused admission to the Congregational Union both in Yorkshire and London, yet lived to be Chairman of the Union; of the son of a postman and a servant-girl, who became one of the foremost Christian scholars of his time; of a thinker who, beginning 'on the left', through his own keen, independent thinking moved steadily to the 'right'. The memoir tells us of his virility, his passionate devotion to truth, his tenderness, and his personal devotion to Christ. Dr. Forsyth's daughter has done her difficult work well.

In his life-time Forsyth wrote extensively. Some thirty works bore his name. Of these only one has been available in recent years, and this by re-printing. Now a second has been re-printed. It is a series of 'extempore lectures from rough notes to a gathering largely of young ministers'. These covered much the same ground as a more systematic work on the Theology of the Cross. In his later years this was the heart of all theology for Forsyth, and for many readers these lectures will expound his teaching better than the more systematic book, for it is true that Forsyth's written style grew more and more paradoxical. It must not be supposed that this re-print is only of historical value. More than one student of current theology has compared Forsyth with Barth, of course, with differences.

*The New Testament. A Reader's Guide.* By C. A. Alington, D.D. (G. Bell & Sons Ltd. 5s.)

Had the New Testament text been printed along with the Commentary this would have seemed a more considerable work and would have required an additional volume. Hence the circumstance that all is confined to four hundred and twenty pages must not be allowed to give the impression that the treatment is slight. The commentary is adequate and the scholarship is thorough. Originality is claimed only for the arrangement. There is an attempt to place the student in the right historical perspective. He is to read the Gospels as the early Christians read them, not as beginning the New Testament history, but as following a considerable body of Christian writings. Christ was known as a saving power many years before the Gospels appeared in a written form. The Gospels did not make any attempt to reproduce what was already common knowledge; many things were taken for granted. This accounts for puzzling omissions. The student must start with the Pauline epistles, remembering that the mind of St. Paul was not static. Therefore he must look for modifications and

developments in thought. Serviceable hints on the study of St. Paul are tabulated. The commentary then takes in turn Galatians, James, Thessalonians, Corinthians, Philippians, and Romans. The first Gospel is now considered. A.D. 60 is the favoured date. Why was a Gospel so long in being 'published'? It is suggested that the Jews had no interest in biography—no 'life' of any prophet or rabbi is preserved. An additional reason is that everyone knew the facts and the expectation of an early return of Christ made a compilation needless. Years went by, survivors became fewer; another generation had its claims. The facts were the same for the Epistles as for Gospels. St. Paul based his appeals on the facts afterwards recorded in the Gospels. The early Christians did not infer the divinity of Christ from the teaching of the Gospels. That tremendous inference had already been accepted and taught. The Gospels found it the centre of the faith. They did not originate it. The matter of the Gospels was the background of the existing teaching. Mark is the earliest Gospel but 'Q' was probably known ten years earlier. Dr. Alington works on the assumption that Matthew and Luke had Mark (in some form) and 'Q' before them and that the latest was in existence about A.D. 80. After a brief discussion of the authorship of the Gospel of John a conclusion is reached which leans to accepting St. John, in his old age, as the author, and, in any case, the Gospel contains his doctrines. It aims at supplementing and correcting the other three. Its historical value is great, though it may be admitted that the order is decided by didactic considerations. The prologue may have been written as a postscript. The deepest conceptions gather around the terms 'Light' and 'Life'. The author of Revelation is unknown and the book 'can seldom be said to breathe the authentic spirit of Christ'. On 'Church Order' Dr. Alington thinks that the development which brought into being the monarchical episcopate was inspired, but 'its origin cannot be traced to any word of Christ' and 'there is no doubt that local government was at first in the hands of a body of Presbyters'. Hotly controverted questions are not brought into discussion. 'Form-criticism' is not mentioned. The book is an Introduction and Commentary for the general reader rather than the expert and will give honest and sound help to any student wishing to know what is generally accepted by scholars who take a moderate position with regard to the New Testament and its message.

ERNEST BARRETT

*Contemporary Continental Theology.* By Professor W. M. Horton of Oberlin College, U.S.A. (S.C.M. Press. 7s. 6d.)

Those who are interested in the development of religious thought outside their own country will welcome the appearance of this volume. The author's sympathies are wide, and he writes with an easy command of his materials. Difficult though much of the subject-matter is, the interest of the reader is well-sustained throughout. The volume (which consists of 240 pages) is divided into four chapters. Chapter I treats of the rediscovery of the theology of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The discussion here centres round the writings of Nicholas Berdyaev, a layman, and Father Bulgakov. Both are Russian refugees resident in Paris and both are concerned with the effort to rejuvenate 'Orthodoxy'. Chapter II deals with the Revival of Catholic Theology. In the author's view, the Roman Catholic Church on the Continent, after a long period of 'exile and disfavour', is now regaining favour and is being clothed anew with authority. It is among the intellectuals and men of letters that the influence of Catholicism is most marked on the Continent. The two writers most representative of the Roman Catholic awakening, are Jacques Maritain of Paris, a lay exponent of St. Thomas, and Erich Przywara, Jesuit theologian and preacher. The subject of Chapter III is The Crisis in German Protestant Theology. Since the War there has been an almost complete collapse of German Liberal Protestantism. Such names as Schleiermacher, Ritschl and Troeltsch 'have fallen into profound disrepute within a very few years'. This collapse is due to a variety of causes, including the rise of the totalitarian state, as the result of which there are three parties in German Protestantism. The author discusses the extreme Confessionalism of Karl Barth, the extreme 'Aryanism' of Rosenberg, Hauer and Hirsch, and then proceeds to consider two mediating theologians, Heim and Althaus. The fourth chapter deals with Protestant Theology outside of Germany. The author's method is to traverse in turn Scandinavia, Holland, France, and Central Europe, putting to each the question—What think ye of Barth? He discusses the theology of Nygren and Aulén, who are outstanding representatives of the school of Lund. He also describes the reaction to Barth of both Dutch and French Protestantism. Finally the author takes a hasty look at Scotland and quotes the words of a recent writer: 'I share the conviction with some others that Scottish theology has to find its true affinity with the theology of Continental Protestantism rather than with that of England and America.'

This is a volume which serious students of theology cannot afford to neglect.

*Religion in Essence and Manifestation.* By G. Van Der Leeuw. (Allen & Unwin. 25s.)

This is a monumental volume witnessing to the erudition and perseverance of its author. In Germany it has received a warm welcome, and there is no reason why the English translation should not have the same greeting. Dr. Turner of Liverpool University has been responsible for making the translation and the Halley Stewart Trust have aided the publication. What Professor Van Der Leeuw has chiefly in mind is not the philosophical so much as the phenomenological essence and manifestation of religion and this is treated very fully by examples alike from the more primitive and developed faiths. The method has been to subdivide the whole into a large number of short chapters. This makes greatly for ease of reference, though for example when the treatment of the soul is divided into nine chapters entitled 'The Soul as a whole', 'The form of the Soul', 'The Immortal

Soul', 'The Destiny of the Soul' and so forth, the subject can hardly lend itself to such clean-cut divisions. However, the student of the Comparative Study of Religions will find here a mine of information, such as can be got only from the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and of course with much more difficulty. The documentation is full, especially with regard to German works. It is the type of book that will be even more valuable kept for reference purposes than read at one sitting. The author has no purpose other than that of pure study of the subject, and whilst now and again one wishes to question the author, for example in his treatment of magic which does not seem sufficiently to separate mere sympathetic magic from sorcery, there are very few cases where one can correct him. Considering the vast amount of material gathered here this is testimony indeed to the scholarship that has gone to the making of the book. Although the price of the volume is high, no serious student of the subject is likely to regret purchase. He certainly will have full value for the money.

E. S. WATERHOUSE

*Biology and Christian Belief.* By W. Osborne Greenwood, M.D., B.S., F.R.S.E. (Student Christian Movement Press. 5s. net.)

It will be admitted that the scientific atmosphere of the age in which we live is very unfavourable to religion and encourages a frame of mind which believes that science holds the answer to all questions, or will hold it very soon. There are many people who seem to have the impression that religion is 'discredited' and are apt to accept uncritically the light-minded remark of an undergraduate, who in argument declared that 'all the dons in the University are agnostics'. As a matter of fact, on closer investigation, it was found that such a sweeping generalization was far from the truth. While some scientists accept the mechanistic view of the Universe, and regard religion as unworthy of discussion, and Materialism as the only possible creed for a thinking man, it must be remembered that the modern conception of matter has no recognizable connexion with that of the old Materialists. When the theories of Haeckel were arousing considerable controversy, the late Lord Kelvin, the most eminent scientist of his day, said, 'Scientific thought compelled him to accept the idea of a creative power. I asked Liebig once, when walking somewhere in the country, if he believed that the grass and the flowers which we saw around us grew by mere chemical forces. He answered, "No, no more than I could believe that a book of botany describing them could grow by mere chemical forces".'

To those of our own day who imagine that the mechanistic conceptions in science have abolished all need for God we can most heartily recommend this admirable survey by Dr. Greenwood. After dealing with what the physical universe is like, he passes to the transition of the lifeless to the living, and has several most illuminating chapters on the nervous system, the function of glands, the relation of mind

to brain, and the origin of life upon the earth. The remaining chapters deal with the great subject of personality, survival of death, and the influence of psychical research on the Christian belief. In the final portion of his extremely interesting work, Dr. Greenwood brings us face to face with the two outstanding and opposing conceptions of the Universe which lie at the base of the age-long controversy between science and faith. On the one hand, that this mysterious and mighty Universe is self-sufficient and self-contained, with no life or mind beyond or above, to control and influence it; and the other conception, that it is permeated through and through with a Divine spirit, that it is guided and watched by a supreme living Mind, acting through the medium of law indeed but with intelligence and love behind the law. As Dr. Greenwood very finely says, 'the final choice would seem to lie between chance and purpose; between a merciless, paralysing, deterministic philosophy of fate and a destiny larger than terrestrial environments can provide, a destiny sponsored by a purposeful God'.

*Modes of Thought.* By Alfred North Whitehead. (Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.)

Anything written by Professor Whitehead attracts attention deservedly. His latest book, consisting of lectures delivered at American universities, is the more welcome because it is much easier to read than some of Whitehead's abstract philosophical writings, which are apt to mingle passages of brilliant luminosity with fog patches which baffle even the experts. A few selections from the present book will serve as a good sample of style and contents. Here is a welcome thrust at the mechanists. 'In animal life', says Whitehead, 'purposes transcending (however faintly) the mere aim at survival are exhibited.' In man these are immensely extended. 'Thus morals and religion arise as aspects of this human impetus towards the best on each occasion. Morals can be discerned in the higher animals; but not religion. Morality emphasizes the detailed occasion; while religion emphasizes the unity of ideal inherent in the universe.' Continuing his examination of creative impulse, he sharply criticizes the type of empiricism which seeks 'to explain our ultimate insights as merely interpretive of sense-impressions'. He likens this method to an attempt to explain modern civilization as wholly derivative from traffic signals. The signals control the traffic, but it does not follow that they are the reasons for the existence of the traffic. He is equally critical of the Absolutists who derive the actual world of change from a supposed ultimate changeless reality. This is a legacy from the platonic ideas, and from the Greek idea of mathematics. Wisely does Whitehead add 'The closed system is the death of living understanding'. Speaking of God, Whitehead further expounds the notion somewhat dimly expressed in *Process and Reality*. The experience of ideals is the experience of the Deity of the universe. We thereby are related to another than self, Deity as immanent in the present experience. 'It is the religious impulse in the world which transforms the dead facts

of science into the living drama of history. For this reason science can never foretell the perpetual novelty of history.'

Whitehead is fully aware of the place of moral purpose in life. He protests against an epistemology that interprets the totality of experience as the mere reaction to an initial clarity of sense as making moral, emotional and purposive experience non-consequential. Reaction to environment is in no proportion to the definiteness of sense experience. 'Human beings are amateurs in sense-experience' as compared with the hound or eagle. 'Nothing is more astonishing in the history of philosophic thought than the naïve way in which our association with our human bodies is assumed.' 'No one ever says, Here am I and I have brought my body with me.' But 'the body is part of nature . . . that part of nature whose functionings are so co-ordinated as to be reciprocally co-ordinated with the functions of the corresponding human experience'.

In letting Whitehead thus speak for himself, one is able to give a better idea of the character of this book than by much description. But it does not exhaust a tithe of the stimulating thoughts that teem here. For example, what is 'The Fallacy of the Perfect Dictionary'? It is the presupposition that mankind has consciously entertained all the fundamental ideas applicable to experience and that human language explicitly expresses them. Into that fallacy Whitehead will never fall. Not enough has been said to do justice to this book, but enough perhaps to make the reader decide to see more. I cannot imagine any student of philosophy, or indeed general reader with a philosophical bent, who could fail to be enlightened and attracted by these stimulating essays. Especially may those who have tried to grasp *Process and Reality* and failed, try afresh here. They will not fail again.

*The Christ of God.* By Henry Balmforth. (S.C.M. Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

This vital little book is the third of the Diocesan Series, following: *Our Faith in God*, and *Evangelism and the Laity*. This third volume is as big a feast of Christian thinking as could well be produced in a study of a hundred odd pages. The idea behind this special series is that 'cells' or study-groups of Christian people should be formed in every parish for the exploration of the Church's faith in the fellowship of Christ. The questions for discussion at the end of the book will be a considerable help in any thorough study of these brimming chapters. A pamphlet is also obtainable which gives help to leaders in answering questions. The chapter on The Eternal Word is a treasure of Christian thinking and a deep statement of Christian truth; but it will need the help of well-equipped group leaders to deal with its deep meaning. The six chapters are set to expound the central affirmations of Christianity and clarify and strengthen the faith of the Christian in the modern world. This production of ripe New Testament scholarship deserves the widest circulation and the attention of Christians in all the Churches.

*The Validity of the Gospel Record.* By Ernest F. Scott, D.D.  
(Nicholson & Watson. 8s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Scott has given us, in this latest volume in the International Library of Christian Knowledge, a work of outstanding merit on a subject calling for erudite scholarship. It bears the marks of his penetrating insight and balanced judgement on recent methods of research as applied to the Gospels, and particularly to what is known as Form Criticism. This general survey and authoritative judgement has been much needed, and it is likely to prove an indispensable aid to a reliable assessment of the various schools of New Testament criticism and a critique of the present position. Dr. Scott especially calls attention to some factors which have been too often overlooked in the consideration of the Gospel testimony. His delving into the question of the earliest tradition, showing how it was formed and transmitted is a masterly piece of work. It is an entirely convincing study of the Gospels as having every claim to be accepted as substantially a record of fact. It is not objected that any criticism that can be applied to the Gospels can be too exacting, but it is demanded that the same fairness should be shown as when dealing with other historical documents. This book most certainly secures this justice for the Gospel records. The importance of this study should receive the close attention of Christian teachers, for apart from the facts of history there can be no sure basis for faith. Our Christianity is not only an historical religion in the sense of dates and circumstances, but also in the fact and deeper sense that the history itself was the revelation of God. The truth of God for man was made known through things that actually happened. 'What we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes and have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life, declare we unto you.' This book, in facing up to all the efforts of criticism, leaves no doubt in the Christian mind that our religion is secure in the integrity of the historical records, and doubly secure in the faith to-day in that the things to which the records testify are ratified in present Christian experience. 'Therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith.' We are deeply grateful to Dr. Scott for so thorough a contribution to Christian knowledge.

W. G. THORNAL BAKER

*Behold Thy King.* By Suzanne de Dietrich. (S.C.M. Press. 4s.)

These meditations on the Gospels are the work of a distinguished and far-travelled officer of the World's Student Christian Federation. The book is written in an unusual style and reveals the author's interpretation of the Gospel without reference to historical criticism. These studies witness to the faith she holds and to the revelation which has come to her of a Saviour and Lord. Fragmentary as they appear in print they are effective as testimony, for they disclose the real meaning of Christ to the Christian. The short, staccato sentences offer lines of thought and stir impulses to prayer and action. We commend this book for the Quiet Hour and are sure, if used as written, it will bear spiritual fruit.

*The Origins of the Gospels.* By Floyd V. Filson. (Abingdon Press. 2 dollars.)

The cover paper of this volume claims that it is a readable, non-technical and up-to-date survey and evaluation of recent trends in the study of gospel origins. The book justifies the claim, for it gathers in brief compass the main results of constructive criticism of the New Testament in the last fifty years. The Church has discovered that criticism is not inimical to faith but rather a strengthening of our beliefs. The Christianity of the Gospels when surveyed by the critic is a living and vital force, and the more careful attention one gives to the subject matter of the New Testament the greater is its importance for daily life. This book will provide the working minister with a valid historical background for his timeless message. We have to teach a religious faith, and the fact that it may have been expressed in faulty forms is a challenge to right values to-day if we are to compel the attention and retain the respect of our hearers. Professor Filson discusses the discoveries of textual criticism and the features of the language in which the gospels were written. He proceeds to trace the oral tradition which preceded the writing of the Gospels and reveals the method of their composition. The last chapter of this effective book deals with the problems raised by the authorship and content of the Fourth Gospel and presents such definite conclusions as the present findings of the study warrants. At the close of each chapter the author gives helpful suggestions for further reading and at the end of the book useful indices of names and Scripture references. Throughout the studies the reader is impressed by the clear thinking and valid arguments of the author, and the working minister owes much to the writer for his work.

*In the Quietness.* By Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.)

Dr. Church has collected twelve of his broadcast addresses into a single volume. They are thus made more permanent than in the booklet form in which several have been issued. They will be welcomed for their understanding of human need, their grasp of spiritual realities and as memories of that resonant yet wistful voice over the air. Good wine they say needs no bush, and Dr. Church's messages need no boosting. Those who heard them when given by one who is described by the B.B.C. as 'one of our best broadcasters' will be thankful that they can ponder at leisure what they heard in a moment, knowing full well that the voice they heard saying 'God Bless You' is the man whose soul is in his message and so comforts our hearts. Folk everywhere will welcome especially the addresses which the world heard on that fogbound Christmas Day of 1937 and the New Year 1938, for 'The Child' and 'The Journey' are vital themes. As a gift book this well produced volume will be much prized.

*The Faith.* By F. A. Farley, M.A., B.D. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.)

The need for a simple re-statement of the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith is generally realized and amply met by this book. Mr. Farley has recently been set apart for the work of training and equipping lay preachers, and it is primarily in their interest that he has written. We believe these chapters will provide an adequate basis as a first text book for local preachers and introduce them to the positive and practical rather than the controversial side of the 'queen of sciences'. The study herein proposed may be continued in any special direction by reference to the bibliography provided. The questions propounded at the end of each chapter will test the reader's grasp of the subject. The book answers the question 'Why Theology?' and considers Revelation, the Doctrine of God, the Person of Christ, the Holy Spirit and the Trinity, Man, Salvation, the Church and the Last Things. The whole is broad based on the Apostles' Creed and its statements provide the chapter headings. It is a well made book issued at a price within the reach of all.

*The Fullness of Sacrifice: An Essay in Reconciliation.* By F. C. N. Hicks. (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.)

This book was written in 1930 by the Bishop of Gibraltar, who was appointed Bishop of Lincoln shortly after. This is a cheaper reprint, with a preface containing a brief reply to criticisms passed on the first edition by Mr. A. M. Farrer and by Canon J. K. Mozley, and a reference to Canon Quick's chapter on Theories of Atonement in his recent book, *Doctrines of the Creed*. Bishop Hicks's reprint is sure of an even wider public than the first edition which met with a favourable reception.

*Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines.* By John A. Subhan, B.A., B.D. (Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow.)

The author of this book is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and lecturer at the Henry Martin School of Islamics, Lahore. But formerly he was a member of one of the orders described in these pages—the Qadiri order. To anyone who needs detailed and inside information about the mystical way of Islam, especially in India, this book will be treasure-trove indeed. After introductory chapters on the history and characteristics of Sufism, Mr. Subhan deals in detail with the four main orders and their sub-sects, concluding with a chapter on the minor orders, and a couple of appendices. It is, of course, a book for the specialist, but one is thankful that such complete and authentic information upon a little known subject in the Comparative Study of Religion is now available in English. Our gratitude is due to Mr. Subhan for this scholarly and most informative book.

*By Faith.* By Dwight L. Bradley. (Abingdon Press. 1 dollar.)

The library of devotion is enriched by these chapters on faith. The introductory chapter on Faith and Life is an effective survey of the nature of, the substitutes for, and the only abiding, faith. The writer goes on to expound the faith of some of the Old Testament heroes whose names are quoted in the letter to the Hebrews. These studies quicken our faith and in relating our life and purpose to the leaders of yesterday we are stirred to become the defenders of the faith to-day. We commend this book to leaders of classes as a valuable course of study for their members.

## HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

*Pre-Reformation England.* By H. Maynard Smith, D.D.  
(Macmillan. 25s.)

We are indebted to Canon Maynard Smith for an excellent book. Long as it is, there is not a dull page from first to last; it has the power of gripping, and holding, the attention of the reader throughout. The subject itself is one of great intrinsic interest, an interest which is enhanced by the way in which it is presented, and which reveals the author as a *raconteur* of the first order. It is a great story so well told that the reading of it is a sheer delight. Broadly speaking it presents a vivid picture of religious and social life in England from the closing years of Henry VII to the time of his son's break with Rome; indicating the forces which were at work to make that break so easy to effect in spite of the far-reaching consequences involved.

In preparing this volume Canon Smith has spared no pains in the way of research. His own reading has been immense, and the list of works from which he quotes is almost staggering in its length; though we observe that it is, for the most part, concerned with English authorities; and these are, to a considerable extent, secondary rather than primary in character. But, be that as it may, his reading has been turned to excellent account.

Perfect impartiality in an historian is perhaps far to seek, and where found, it may be admitted, does not always add to the interest of the narrative. From the reader's standpoint, a definite point of view on the part of the writer gives colour to the story and awakens interest; it stimulates thought if only by raising questions and arousing criticism. Canon Smith is not colourless, and evidences are not lacking that he is far from being a whole-hearted sympathizer with the Reformation movement, though he grants its necessity, and frankly expresses the shortcomings of the medieval Church. His general position may be inferred from the admission, made on an early page, that he 'deplores a Reformation which deprives our people of a large part of their Christian heritage'. This prepares the reader for a series of statements, some of them no doubt containing an element of truth, of which the following are typical. The cry 'Women and children first' in moments of extreme peril is the modern counterpart of medieval exaltation of the Madonna and Child! With reference to the Guild system of the Middle Ages it is remarked that at the Reformation trade and religion dissolved partnership; henceforth, in the workshop, 'business is business' becomes the motto. 'Protestantism entered England at the ports, and the Reformation, in so far as it was a religious movement, was of middle-class origin: it was the most important result of international commerce.' Wyclif and Pecoek, it is allowed, were better than their opponents, none the less in condemning them the Church was right! By the Reformation 'England lost much; the rest of Christendom lost more'; but 'in some ways both

those who seceded and those who remained in the Roman obedience were better for the Reformation'. 'At the Reformation the world conquered the Church, carefully limited her sphere of action and told her in future to mind her own business.' 'Luther, in preaching justification by faith alone shattered the medieval system.' From these examples the reader may gather a fair idea of the author's general position. It is not that Canon Smith is consciously unfair, indeed he is at pains to point out the many shortcomings and abuses of the pre-Reformation Church. But there is no doubt in which direction his sympathies lie, and that he contemplates its passing with a certain measure of wistful regret. This cannot do other than affect his judgement, if only in a subconscious way, and must be allowed for by the reader in appraising the soundness of his conclusions. Only by making such allowance is it possible to get the best out of this really valuable book.

One of the most suggestive and interesting features of *Pre-Reformation England* is to be found in the numerous character sketches it provides, in which the reader is introduced to a large number of actors in the great drama; sometimes by way of a happily drawn thumbnail sketch, sometimes a more extensive study. Among the latter may be mentioned those of Colet, More, Erasmus, and Henry VIII who are aptly hit off in a word as the Puritan, the Christian humanist, the latitudinarian, and the traditionalist. Another feature which will be found to make a strong appeal to most readers is the mass of detail about the various aspects of life in the Middle Ages. Much of this is off the beaten track—quaint oddments of information about the trivialities of everyday life in town and country, the kind of trivialities that make up the main content of life as experienced by the majority. Other items throw light upon happenings of recognized historical import, as, for example, the social factors which were operative to render so radical a step as the suppression of the monasteries a comparatively easy matter. But whether dealing with affairs striking or commonplace the information is always of real historical value as helping the reader to obtain a vivid picture of the life of our fathers in the early sixteenth century. Dr. Maynard Smith has rendered real service by this valuable contribution to our knowledge of the religious and social life of the period about which he writes. To conclude with a personal note, we should like to express our thanks to him for the great enjoyment which his book has given us; it is a pleasure which we hope to re-taste by reading it again at an early date.

W. ERNEST BEET

*Medieval Panorama.* By Dr. G. G. Coulton, F.B.A., Litt.D. (Cambridge University Press. 15s.)

Dr. G. G. Coulton is the most learned medievalist in England, if not in Europe, and all his books are a sheer delight to the student, not only because of their enormous erudition, but because they are so well written and so full of interesting detail. His latest book is a brilliant example. It is a good deal more interesting than most

novels, and it is packed full of the results of profound learning and wide research.

This might be illustrated from every page of the volume. Here is an example of it that might escape the casual reader, because the exposure is all so apparently easy and effortless. We are all familiar with Chaucer's description of the Friar, the Monk, and the Nun. He has least liking for the Friar, manifestly, and, as Dr. Coulton remarks, in so far as Chaucer was capable of flaming indignation he expends it upon the Mendicant. His account of the Monk and the Prioress strikes an ordinary reader as rather genial, but in these pages we have pointed out the sub-acid satire of it all. The Monk hunted, and 'greyhounds he hadde' for the purpose. His sleeves were 'purified at the hond with grys'. To fasten his hood he had 'of gold y-wrought a ful curious pin'. He was a *bon vivant*, and scorned both study and manual labour, and generally held his Rule lightly, because it was 'old and some-deal strait'. Now according to Canon Law hunting was strictly forbidden to all the clergy, and therefore especially to what were supposed to be cloistered clergy. *Gris* was the fur of the grey squirrel, and the most expensive of all furs, except ermine and vair. It was expressly forbidden to monks. So was the wearing of gold and silver ornaments, and the contemporary *Dives and Pauper* remarks bitterly that 'a lady of a thousand mark by year can pin her hood against the wind with a small pin of laton (brass); twelve for a penny. But a monk that is bounden to poverty by his profession will have an ouche (locket) or a broche of gold and silver, in value of a noble or much more'. So the Monk's greyhounds, and the fur on his sleeves, and the gold pin in his hood, were all definite breaches of ecclesiastical law, to say nothing of his more general contempt for his Rule. And so with Chaucer's seemingly sympathetic picture of the Prioress. Her 'smalē houndēs' were forbidden pets. Her wimple 'full semely y-pynched' was equally forbidden, or even more strictly. Her 'fair foreheed' should have been completely hidden, and her wimple (which ought not to have been pleated but absolutely plain) should have come down to her very eyebrows. Her 'brooch of gold ful sheenē', with its dubious motto, was strictly forbidden. Finally she ought not to have been out of her convent at all, except at some rare moment of desperate need, and a pilgrimage to Canterbury could not be brought under any such rubric. In fact, disciplinarians were always trying to prevent monks and nuns going on pilgrimages, because of the perils and the scandals that were involved.

One might quote from every page of the volume in illustration of different aspects of the Middle Ages. There are chapters dealing not only with the religious side of life, but with the land and the people, the village and the town, popular superstitions and popular revels, trade and chivalry, the Jews and the Lollards, the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and many other matters of equal interest. It is impossible here to traverse all these varied themes: one can only say that Dr. Coulton writes on all these things in his usual picturesque, interesting, and sometimes trenchant fashion, and with the supreme

authority of his unparalleled scholarship. Here is a volume as fascinating as it is erudite; a treasury of medieval learning, and a joy to read.

HENRY BETT

*Copernicus, The Founder of Modern Astronomy.* By Angus Armitage, M.Sc. (History of Science Library, Allen & Unwin. 10s.)

This study claims to be 'the only one of its kind in English'. It is not a 'popular' book, but a succinct and authoritative account of the work of Copernicus, based on the best modern discussions and on his original writings. A feature is the number of excellent diagrams illustrating his theory. The writer summarizes astronomical knowledge and theory from the Babylonian star-temples and the ancient Greeks up to the days of Copernicus. He gives an account of the man himself, student of law, physician working in his bishop's palace or among the poor of his town, lay ecclesiastic, negotiator and administrator, as well as astronomer. His full description of Copernicus's methods and achievements makes it an important contribution, especially for students, to the history of its subject.

C. LESTER JOHNSON

*An Outline of Church History to the Reformation.* Edited by C. Duncan-Jones. (George Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.)

An array of scholarship has combined to produce the twelve chapters of this important little book. The survey covers the most important features in the life of the Church from the Acts of the Apostles to the sixteenth century. These studies of carefully and scrupulously presented information should clear away some of the vagueness on the organic life and growth of the Church, and instead of detached mental pictures we see the full picture of Christ working in the world. This is the purpose of the book. The history of the Church is the backbone, the inspiration and explanation of 1,900 years of secular history, and yet many find their detailed knowledge of Church History ends with the Acts of the Apostles. This course of lectures is meant to fill this blank and to supplement the ordinary school history book. There is a rather astounding agreement on essentials by authors differing so widely in their ecclesiastical outlook. We are given a picture of the Christian Church, that with all her faults is the Body of Christ, living to finally triumph. A compact, readable volume that should have a wide circulation in the Churches, and will prove a vivid background for young people desiring to get a real grasp of history.

*Masaryk on Thought and Life.* Conversations with Karel Capek. (George Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Czechoslovakia is at the centre of the world's thought. Anything, therefore, that can help to an understanding of the philosophy and ideals upon which the Republic was built is of universal value. This

book records in his own words the faith and philosophy of the late T. G. Masaryk, first President of Czechoslovakia. It is written in the form of conversations, with Karel Capek playing Boswell to Masaryk's Johnson. Throughout the book a note of intimacy persists. We see right to the heart of one who was alike a philosopher and a man of affairs.

The conversations range widely. Epistemology, metaphysics, religion, the cultural conflict receive attention in turn. Everyone who desires to understand the Czech position in the present conflict should, however, turn immediately to the last two chapters. There Masaryk discusses his nation's and his own political philosophy. Two factors combined to form his political creed—a profound belief in the value and rights of the individual, and the conviction that these can only be preserved in a democracy. He was a democrat because he was a theocrat. He believed that democracy was a means to the realization of the rule of God, and that Czechoslovakia had been divinely commissioned to play an important part in world history.

Thus for Masaryk, religion, or religiousness as he preferred to call it, embraced the whole of life. His own faith he summarized as—'Jesusdom, love of one's neighbour, an effective love, reverence before God'. It influenced his metaphysics, enabling him to combine Determinism with Synergism. God has a plan, but we are free to choose from a plurality of causes. It also produces his metaphysical individualism.

Masaryk's epistemology was developed in opposition both to the scepticism of Hume and the idealism of Berkeley. Idealism seemed to him to lead to solipsism. He therefore accepted the reality of the external world as revealed by experience and tested by critical reason. He called his theory Concretism. Kant's theory of *a priori* concepts and dualism of pure and impure reason he rejected in favour of an all-embracing rationalism.

This book contains the self-portrait of a politician who was supremely a philosopher and a Christian. 'As in all things, in politics also', he said, 'it is the worth of the whole man that matters.' Those who read these conversations will echo the world's estimate of Masaryk. He stood the test of his own standard.

*Biblical Archaeology. Its Use and Abuse.* By George H. Richardson, Ph.D., D.Sc. (James Clarke. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Richardson brings to this estimate of the value of Biblical Archaeology the critical faculty. He examines with scrupulous care the use of discoveries in the Near East and finds abuse more general than use. Throughout he makes one constant claim—illustration is not evidence. The use made of the unearthed treasures is strained beyond reason by both fundamentalist and higher critic into evidence for their preconceived theories, when the discovery is at best an illustration. In these days when the early chapters of Genesis are claimed to be historically accurate by the fundamentalist and wholly legendary by the higher critic, the bewilderment of the thoughtful

layman is natural. The whole contention is unmasked to the great advantage of truth. The real service of archaeology is based on a knowledge of what the monuments really contain, and this information must be set in its proper context. It gives the historical setting of the Scriptures and is not a court of appeal for dogmatic and opposing advocates to insist on the veracity of their claims. The true archaeologist accepts the facts revealed even when his theories are contradicted by them. The study reveals the people among whom the Bible grew and the historical and geographical environment in which it grew. It is the court of appeal in matters of ancient history. This book will be of real value to the intelligent layman as well as the working minister.

*Through Lands of the Bible.* By H. V. Morton. (Methuen. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. H. V. Morton has completed a trilogy of books on the lands of the Near East. The volumes *In the Steps of the Master* and *In the Steps of St. Paul* are now completed by *Through Lands of the Bible*. The author is a trained observer with a singularly facile pen, a sympathetic understanding and a sense of humour. This book, like its predecessors, provides many illustrations which enrich our conception of the Bible. To gain the historical background and to make real the unchanging East is to find constant parallels with Holy Writ. In this volume the author takes a journey, and such is his gift that we seem to accompany him, from the Euphrates to the Nile and from the Nile to the Tiber. Babylon, Ur, the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt and Rome are visited and the vistas of these lands and cities are faithfully drawn and finely pictured. The fact that Mr. Morton had no theories to 'prove' by distortion of the facts makes these pages the more valuable. The communities of native Christians, especially the Copts of Egypt merit our interest for they have endured despite persecutions of barbaric severity, and their faith still holds even though in some places it is strangely mingled with Islam. The literature of travel and of Bible knowledge is enriched by these works of a modern pilgrim and we congratulate author and publisher alike on their issue.

## SOCIOLOGY

*Psychology and Pastoral Practice.* By W. L. Northridge, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. (The Epworth Press, Lincoln Library. 5s. net.)

If a book like this had come into the hands of some of us at the beginning of our ministry, our ministry on its pastoral side might have been much more effective. But they were the days before Freud and Jung had drawn so many capable thinkers into their net, and the science of Psychology was little developed. The author is well versed in their theories, and some might think the book a little too 'Freudian' in its point of view. The book is simply crowded with practical ideas which should enrich any man's ministry if they be assimilated. Dr. Northridge has himself tried out all the theories he advocates, and has proved their worth. His work in Northern Ireland, where he has collaborated with many doctors, has been so successful that he feels constrained to help others who would attempt similar work. He has written this book because he realizes the need for a more intelligent co-operation between the Christian ministry and the medical profession. Naturally in a book by such a man, the importance of the religious factor is not overlooked. Some will not agree with all that is said or inferred about the Freudian fantasies of infant sexuality, but sex does not obtrude unduly in this book as in many others of like order. It is sane, balanced, erudite, practical, and not the least useful feature is the fine list of authorities recommended by the author for those who would delve more deeply into the many phases of psycho-therapeutics touched upon in the book. The earlier chapters of the book are technical but easy to read, and invaluable for those who would seek a scientific basis for their work of spiritual diagnosis. Not the least valuable effect of the study of this book would be, that knowledge of its contents would act as a deterrent against that shallow and spurious evangelism which is still all too prevalent in certain quarters of our and other churches. The chapter on 'Adolescent Conversion' is particularly timely and the chapters in which the author deals with the problems of 'Sin' are the work of a man who has probed deeply into the human heart. The chapters on 'Spiritual Diagnosis' are extremely useful, and although the author is no Romanist, he sees the value of something equivalent to the 'Confessional' and of course advocates the methods of psycho-analysis. In the hands of Dr. Northridge such methods would be safe: but he makes the not altogether unnecessary proviso that no minister should attempt this work until he is capable of dealing effectively with his own emotional life. No young minister can afford to miss this book.

PERCY S. CARDEN

*Arm the Apostles.* By Rom Landau. (Nicholson & Watson. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Landau is himself an apostle. He is deeply convinced of the value of spiritual forces in all efforts to save civilization. This little book, with its stark simplicity of phrase and its transparent honesty of purpose, offers an excellent starting point for a group study. Mr. Landau urges us to cherish—at any cost to preserve the imponderable treasures of our British civilization; our freedom of thought; our legal system, so largely independent of the prevailing creed in politics; and perhaps most of all, 'the honesty and fairness that are so noble a part of British life, and the sensitiveness of British hearts. . .'

It is a book which will provoke the serious reader to question his own opinions. It does not argue for or against Pacifism. Its writer is sure of the truth of the Christian ideal, and repudiates any suggestion 'that Christ allows man to kill'. Nor has he any illusions as to the results of war. 'War never solves problems. It merely creates new and more difficult ones.'

Yet as his argument develops, Mr. Landau urges that this nation, 'Having omitted in the past to prepare itself spiritually, it obviously must support the State in its material armaments, which have become inevitable'. But at the same time he insists that spiritual resources should be mobilized in defence of our civilization. This is the justification of its title and the thesis of the book. 'In a country that is both highly civilized and Christian, spiritual arming must be made the chief item in a Government programme of war preparations.'

Pacifists who believe with Canon Raven that spiritual resources can be trusted utterly, will find some inconsistency underlying the argument, and indeed it is difficult to escape the feeling that Mr. Landau has missed some of the implications of his Christian faith.

When he speaks of conscientious objectors to war sacrificing their scruples for the sake of civilization he is surely guilty of confused thinking. The apparent strength of the forces arrayed against the Christian ideal seems to press heavily upon his mind, so that he fears lest our civilization should perish.

It is this failure to realize that only God can be trusted to vindicate spiritual values, which leads Mr. Landau to accept material arms as a temporary necessity while he urges the fuller use of those powers of the mind and spirit upon which civilization must depend for the final abolition of war.

EDWIN H. WALMSLEY ROSS

*The Jew and His Neighbours.* By James Parkes, M.A., D.Ph. (S.C.M. Press. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Parkes has revised his book on the causes of anti-Semitism and it has been issued in a cheap edition. The timeliness of the volume is obvious and the balanced judgements of the author give to his study a permanent value. Dr. Parkes believes that the Jewish problem can be solved by human intelligence if there be goodwill and wise

action. Such a solution will be slow since prejudice is so deep rooted that fairness almost appears as partiality. The first chapter reveals the unique national experience of the Jew. Hated and tolerated in turn by the majority of the Western nations, the Jew has sought in vain for a home in Christian or non-Christian lands. The dawn of Zionism and the hope of Palestine as a national home have added to the problems to be solved. The Jew, pre-eminently a town dweller, is possessed of remarkable intelligence and mental resilience, and his success has roused the jealousy of his neighbours. The unreasoning, instinctive hate on the part of the anti-Semite is the main problem to be solved. Rights of citizenship for the Jew are a late achievement and came for the most part with the rise of the middle class. Jewish equality has been denied again on the Continent and an insane persecution has begun. The author of this book traces the inner evolution of the Jewish community from the rise of a belief in their own superiority as the chosen people to that of a degraded and out-cast folk whose religion has lost its hold on the younger generation and created an oppression complex. The banal effect upon the Jew resulting from this position in society is obvious. In a concluding chapter the author points out the urgent need of escape from the past and of finding a just solution which offers co-operation and toleration on the part of the nations in facing the political, cultural and economic aspects of Jewish nationalism. A concrete programme resulting in the disappearance of anti-Semitism would clear the air of the fantastic arguments which poison the issue, and further, it would dissipate the inferiority complex of the Jew. Such a plan would call for co-operation of Jew and non-Jew and go far to solve the questions at issue.

*The Psychology of Social Movements.* A Psycho-analytic view of Society. By Pryns Hopkins, M.A., Ph.D. (George Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

This book is an attempt to enumerate the ultimate needs of man, and to analyze his endeavours to attain them. Based on the theory of Sigmund Freud, it uses the psycho-analytic method to detect the ills of mankind, and claims for psycho-analysis the power to cure them. It is thus an admixture of psychology and sociology.

Dr. Hopkins finds the aim of Society in Jeremy Bentham's dictum, 'The greatest happiness of the greatest number'. His thesis is that happiness can only be achieved by freeing man from his complexes through psycho-analysis. Thus he asserts that for the first time in history we are able to see clearly the road to salvation. The psycho-analysts are the saviours of Society.

In the preliminary chapters of the book the author explains why he adopts this position. First he gives a brief history of psychology up to Freud, and a list of the Freudian mechanisms upon which psycho-analytical theory and practice are based. A discussion of rival theories of Ethics follows. In this he rejects the notion that 'an indefinable objective God (e.g. the Will of God) is the natural goal for humanity'.

He regards maximum happiness as the true goal of Ethics. Dr. Hopkins then analyzes the commandments of the foremost religions into six fundamental requirements. These, he suggests, correspond to six categories of human need, namely: The enjoyment of knowledge, of sensory naturalism, of inner peace, of the family, of material means and of safety from violence. In the rest of the book he illustrates and analyzes man's attempts to gain these six forms of happiness. Society's failure to achieve them he attributes to childhood fixations. These he would remove by the immediate and extensive application of psycho-analysis.

The background of this book is frankly Freudian. Dr. Hopkins summarily dismisses Adler and Jung as substituting politeness for plain facts. The religious attitude he traces in great detail to Freudian mechanisms: ego-satisfactions, oral erotisms, anal-retentive tendencies, sadism, narcissism, the Oedipus complex, and homosexuality. Even the cross becomes a conventionalized phallic emblem! The book is characterized throughout by assertion and affirmation even where the author's interpretation of the facts is debatable. Alternative theories and objections to his views (e.g. on Ethical Hedonism) he rejects as 'either confirmations of it or sophistries'.

This book is a valuable irritant and will provoke much thought and discussion. Its author evidences a sincere desire for a new Society and a new world. He sees in psycho-analysis the promise of accomplishing 'what politicians, economists, sociologists and religious teachers have failed to achieve'. He hints at a future volume on how this is to be done. We shall await it with interest.

R. KIRBY

*The Man Who Made the Peace.* By Stuart Hodgson.  
(Christophers. 2s. 6d.)

This is a well written vivid impression of Neville Chamberlain. Throughout the book the main objective of the author is the tracing of the Prime Minister's life story as a preparation for the Crisis last year. The record is a close-up study of the peacemaker in eighteen brief chapters and is a good example of speedy writing and speedier production. Throughout the pages the facts are well marshalled and the opinions worthily expressed. It is a very human document and a clear-cut picture of a great man.

## GENERAL

*After the Victorians.* By Amy Cruse. (George Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

This sequel-volume reviews the literary output for the twenty years or so immediately preceding the Great War. It comprises some seventeen chapters dealing with books and religion, books and the social question, science and romance; with books written by the feminists, and books from the Empire, America, France and Russia. Crime fiction and the 'New Journalism' also appear in the pages, and links with the mighty past are made in both the first and penultimate chapters. Those who have now a growing indifference to new volumes of poetry, who find the hordes of detectives in modern crime books to be vulgar, voluble, eccentric or insane fellows, but nevertheless endowed by their creators with apparently tropically luxuriant mental gifts, and who regard up-to-date novels as the work of a neurasthenic or a neurotic, will rejoice to find Browning, Tennyson, Conan Doyle, Dickens and Thackeray regarded as probable persistent powers. Those whose youth falls between 1900-1910 will marvel at the furore created by Marie Corelli and Hall Caine, and be astonished to learn that their works were 'sold by the ton', and that the lady gained the royal approval of Queen Victoria and King Edward, and received eloquent pulpit tribute from Spurgeon and Father Ignatius. They will be astounded to learn that in their infancy, *Robert Elsmere* and *The Heavenly Twins* were considered suspect, that *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* was called 'vile' by Henry James, and that *Jude the Obscure* had to be withdrawn from circulating libraries. But these were the days when Bernard Shaw was described as 'a journalist of very great powers, unequal education and much crudity of mind' and when G. K. Chesterton's qualities were thought to be 'cheap emphasis and glib assurance'. Again, both sets of readers will find scattered details that will delight their varying judgements. The young will agree with the comments made on the pretty-pretty verse profusely written with ingratiating geniality in those days, and with the remarks on old-fashioned stories with their admirable morals, well-worn sentiments, colourless but marvellous heroes who were so admired by late Victorians; they will also appreciate the glowing tributes paid to Francis Thompson, Kipling, and du Maurier. The older generation will smile at the writer's homely description of the rise of snippety-weeklies, highly-coloured comics and dubious dailies, and will delight at the judgements passed on Oscar Wilde and the decadents, and on the stupidity and mental squalor of smart Edwardian society.

The book-cover says 'it is not intended as a history of the literature of the period, but is an attempt to tell what books were actually being read during those years; it therefore takes account of many writers, popular in their day, whose names are almost forgotten'. Actually it does more, for it gives copious references to what contemporary writers,

theologians, politicians, &c., were reading and what they thought of these productions. Consequently there is a very full index-list, covering fourteen pages of names. Some of these get too much attention for our own personal liking, whilst others we specially admired have not been given due prominence. Barrie and Mark Rutherford only just flicker into the book; there is silence on such titans as D. H. Lawrence, Dreiser, W. H. Hudson; Strachey and Maurois do not make an appearance, yet both were then executing their imaginative portraits in prose, fashioning a new literary vogue, and were being extensively read. Practically every reader will deplore the slight attention paid to W. J. Locke and the complete neglect of W. W. Jacobs and Cutcliffe Hyne, who alike were highly popular in the period reviewed by the book. Lovers of cameos of peasant life will look in vain for a description of the novels of the period, which voiced not only the dialect but the habits and thoughts of a people or a locality; between 1890 and 1910 that type of novel was greatly enjoyed in the English countryside. Apart from such serious omissions, the book is a careful piece of work, and the writer has faced courageously a difficult problem.

J. H. WHITELEY

*Shakespearean Selves : An Essay in Ethics.* By Arthur Temple Cadoux, B.A., D.D. (The Epworth Press, Lincoln Library, 5s. net.)

The versatile Dr. A. T. Cadoux, having won a large public by his New Testament studies, here breaks new ground. It is no small praise to say he is as much at home with his Shakespeare as with the Gospels. It would not be expected that so independent a thinker would give us a conventional study: nor does he, although to a student of Shakespeare he perhaps brings little that is 'off the beaten track'. Nevertheless, all lovers of the immortal bard will be grateful to the author for a very fresh and stimulating study; while many who have allowed their love for Shakespeare to die down through the pressure of other fields of literature will, on reading this book, find the slumbering fires rekindled, and returning to their first love, they will find that Shakespeare is still a mine of undiscovered gems. I am not sure that Dr. Cadoux's strictures on the attempts made to psycho-analyze Shakespeare's characters is wholly justified, for while it is of course true to say that Shakespeare knew nothing of 'Oedipus and other complexes' that does not prove that in his day these did not exist: any more than the absence of reference in the Old Testament to the Darwinian Theory is a proof that Evolution—in its main content—is to be discredited. Nevertheless, the warning is not meaningless. None would doubt Shakespeare's supremacy as a student of human nature, and even although he had not heard of the 'complexes', who can say that any modern master of the Freudian System outstrips Shakespeare in power of penetration? With unerring aim he uses his knife, and his power of dissecting motives is still unrivalled. Dr. Cadoux breaks a friendly lance with such eminent Shakespearean scholars as Professors E. E. Stoll and Dover Wilson, contending that

although the plays were written for the theatre and not for the study, they provide rich material for the specialist in ethical motive. Small wonder that the psychologist has tried to fit his theories into Shakespeare's epic characters, though Dr. Cadoux deprecates this tendency. In the book Dr. Cadoux examines all the major characters, bringing out many delightful phases which had probably escaped our notice, and making the characters, as they stand before his camera, very human and like ourselves. The book is excellently planned and usefully sub-divided. Certainly no student of Shakespeare can afford to miss it: he will find much in it that is fresh and original, and nothing that is not sane. We congratulate the publishers on the 'get-up'. No teacher or minister can regard his shelves complete without it.

*A Hundred Years of Music.* By Gerald Abraham. (Duckworth. 15s.)

This is a book about music for the serious student, whether amateur or professional. It presupposes either some knowledge of technique and history on the reader's part, or an intelligent desire to learn. Keen wireless, gramophone and concert listeners will find it invaluable. Mr. Abraham is evidently of those who believe that the art critic should be intelligible. He quotes Bernard Shaw's articles of the 'nineties with approval as 'probably the most readable criticism of music ever written'; and himself writes attractively—which is a good thing, because music is a universe and a hundred years a long time. A glance at the Index and the Table of Chronology should deter the merely casual reader. But Mr. Abraham guides us through this vast field without ever losing his bearings. His knowledge of scores, composers and books on music is exhaustive, but this survey keeps it all in perspective. One theme, as he points out in an excellent preface, runs through the century, connecting the 1830's and the 1930's—Schumann and Schönberg, Berlioz and Bax—namely the Triumph, Decline and Fall of Musical Romanticism. And the dominating influence over the whole period is that of Wagner.

'Influence'; not necessarily inspiration. The historian of development in art must forgo the quite distinct and ultimately more important task of aesthetic appraisal. It is a severe limitation; and no one will be disposed to blame Mr. Abraham if, as occasionally happens, a judgement is implied on the absolute artistic worth of this composer or that, though he expressly disclaims any such intention. For after all, external influences of a technical kind do not determine or explain the creative act, in music or any other art. Strauss may be 'Lisztian' and Elgar 'Straussian', but each is most significantly himself. So Fauré, we are told, has a gentle strength and poetry all his own; eclectic as he was, no one is quite so Ravelian as Ravel; and the stature of Brahms is no less because (p. 204), technically speaking, he influenced hardly anybody. Mr. Abraham, of course, understands this, and the reader, if he remembers it, will not be put off by the use of what in less expert hands would serve as mere reach-me-down classifications and labels.

The outstanding fact emerges that nearly everybody is Wagnerian, or 'post-Wagnerian'. Of Wagner's music itself, Mr. Abraham has some interesting and new things to say. He discusses not only the harmonic qualities which in the 'sixties were so advanced, but also Wagner's real but much less obvious sense of form and construction. His original and elaborate theories of opera are dealt with at what seems at first disproportionate length. It is, after all, the new dissonances (as they then seemed) in Wagner and particularly in *Tristan*—the chromaticism and unresolved suspensions and simultaneous appoggiaturas—which by extending the accepted 'norm of consonance' have most deeply influenced the development of modern music. But Mr. Abraham will not dismiss the music-drama without being at pains to understand and explain what Wagner was really aiming at, and to do this he has had to 'plod wearily through the turgid pages of *Oper und Drama*'. Aside from Wagner, due weight is given to nationalist, literary, and other influences; and at three stages in his survey Mr. Abraham pauses to sketch the conditions under which music was made in Europe, namely the 'sixties, the 'nineties and the nineteen-twenties. These chapters, called 'Interludes', are extremely valuable.

We are brought right up to the present day. The man who goes all hot under the collar at the mention of 'modern music' will find here an authoritative and at the same time wise and sympathetic answer. Atonalism and its accompaniments seem less outrageous when they are seen partly as an inevitable extension of ideas now generally accepted as part of our musical appurtenance; partly, again, as a return to 'pure' music after too much commerce with literary and other values. Mr. Abraham allows, of course, that much post-war experimentation has been superficial and silly. Where should the line be drawn? To cultivate amorphousness for its own sake is to commit artistic suicide—a deliberate attempt to bring chaos out of order. Severed alike from emotion and reason, music enters a region of pure negation and becomes a mere cerebral ferment. In the 1920's the gulf between composer and listener (admittedly not entirely the fault of the former, especially in England) threatened to become unbridgeable. Happily the artist seems likely to prevail over the doctrinaire. Now, we are told, even Alban Berg seeks to reconcile the twelve-tone system with diatonic melody, and German romanticism (after all!) is cropping up again in the most recent work of Hindemith. We are witnessing a return of 'emotion and even euphony'. Romanticism or no, and whatever the next hundred years may bring, music belongs to the humanities.

A. S. GREGORY

*The Ancestry of the Wesleys.* By Rev. William Crook, D.D. (Epworth Press. 1s.)

This book was written by a distinguished Irish Methodist many years ago. Its publication for the first time in the bicentenary year of the Methodist Awakening is timely and welcome. Its subject matter is one which the Methodist public ought to know since all great leaders

of men owe much to their forebears. Bartholomew Wesley the great-grandfather of John and Charles Wesley was a Nonconforming preacher whose son John was an itinerant evangelist. This man had a son Samuel, the father of the Wesleys, who was the poverty-ridden poet rector of Epworth. All of these men, like the founders of Methodism, were small in stature. In their characters were the traits which reached full development in John and Charles Wesley. On the maternal side the Wesleys were happy in their inherited gifts. Susanna Annesley was a fine soul who became in a real sense the 'Mother of Methodism'. The remaining chapters tell of Garret Wesley of Ireland and of Charles Wesley's contribution to the Church universal and to Methodism in particular. This is a well written book on a subject little noted in the celebration literature.

*The Wonders of Your House.* By H. L. Gee. (Methuen. 3s. 6d.)

A writer once described a man as having a 'serendipity' mind, by which he meant that he gathered together all sorts of information and produced with that knowledge a mosaic that was fascinating and artistic. This is precisely what Mr. Gee has done in his latest book *The Wonders of Your House*. It is a friendly book that chats about many details, all of them interesting and informing. Often the moral is pointed in an unobtrusive way. The variety of the subjects considered baffles any attempt at review, but the charm of the book holds the reader from first page to last. The House is Everyman's and so every reader can find much to suggest thought and inspire action concerning the home that is his refuge and possession.

*The Passions of Life.* By W. Romaine Paterson. (Williams & Norgate. 6s.)

In his search for an ideal the author offers a brief and non-technical study of the main phases of human impulse and seeks to show that in the ascending scale of passions the highest is the passion for the Beautiful and that without beauty life is a mean thing. He would have us return to the doctrine that 'conduct is good when it is beautiful' as a solution of the ugliness, the moral unrest, the international confusion and the crisis in belief which mark our own day. The author realizes that the great passions which shake character to its base have physical roots. That is true but the solution he offers omits the spiritual and religious powers which alone can make the twin steeds of reason and passion draw the chariot of the soul to the heights we were meant to reach. Mr. Paterson examines with care the root meanings of the words that denote passion and finds that they are all connected with irritability. In the mastery of passion he points out that we cannot quell the evil forces by adverse admonition, but the expulsive powers that he suggests are not capable of accomplishing the task. There is a better way of dealing with evil than by allowing it to extinguish itself. The other passion of a nobler sort that is here suggested will not in common life achieve the ideal.

It is not by reformation but by regeneration that the world is saved. The way proposed in this book—the cult of the beautiful—is the best that a pagan world has produced, but there is a spiritual solution which the author ignores. Those most intimately concerned with the practical task of the ideal know the only effective way. In the author's chapter on 'Religion as Passion' he reveals his own well-known critical attitude and the zeal displayed in interpreting the weakness and failure of individuals and the obvious ignoring of the true and beautiful which religion has produced robs the chapter of real significance.

*The Sleeping People.* By G. E. Aلتree Coley. (Thynne & Co., Ltd. 6s.)

In its opening and closing chapters this is an up-to-the-moment live book, about the present state of world affairs, and England in particular. The author was born in England, but as a young child removed with his family to Canada. The early sights of our countryside and the music of Church bells seem never to have faded from his mind, for his thought-life is in passionate devotion twined about England 'the living mother of us all'. It is an eloquent book with easy-flowing style. Every chapter is devoted to the conviction that the accumulated powers of our British race have been developed under the loving care of God as a means of service for the blessing of humanity. The bulk of this well-printed volume is devoted to tracing the growth of the Britannic people through their long history of hard experience and sternest discipline, for a special high calling under God, and showing that fundamental to all other qualities the Englishman had an unusual capacity for spiritual experience. The central theme of the book is that 'God has chosen to use the Britannic People first to explore, and then to mark out, not without suffering and crucial dangers, the way of life that can lead the world to that state of felicity which prophets have called the City of God, or the Kingdom of God on earth'. Proof of this is the object of all the chapters of this interesting study. Mr. Coley is quite certain that despite the pretensions of the totalitarian states, the advance of humanity certainly does not lie with them. They only lead back to the old repressions from which mankind has been striving to be free. But, then, as a British race we are at present bankrupt of the true spirit of our fathers, because we have forsaken the way of the Book of our fathers—the Bible. This is an era of a decline of faith unparalleled in our history, which synchronizes with the collapse of our national idealism, and we are thereby being robbed of all the strength and stimulus which can be derived from the most inspiring history in the world. We have at present lost our way and leadership because of this shift in spiritual outlook. This will be the day of gas-masks so long as the present moral and spiritual condition prevails, until men resolve to call upon God for deliverance. With national repentance and humiliation will come about the greatest rebirth of a people the world has seen, and the dedication of the race to God. So the author pleads and believes.

For him, at any rate, the new world of free men will come through a newly born, specially prepared, Britannic people raised up through all its history for this purpose. It seems that we must awake out of sleep, for there is no apparent alternative in the writer's mind as to what will happen to the world if we do not.

*America and Our Schools.* By J. Howard Whitehouse. (Oxford University Press. 2s. net.)

The first page of this little book bears this acknowledgement: 'To Lord Stamp with high appreciation of his work for Anglo-American understanding.' The fifty pages contain an address delivered before the Annual Conference of Educational Associations, and a comment by Dr. G. P. Gooch. There can scarcely be a more important consideration in international relationships than the plea made here for the cultivation of understanding between the young people of this country and the Americas. The best way for promoting international understanding and peace is the sympathetic study of each other's institutions, that is, by giving American studies a recognized place in English schools. The number of people of English descent living in the United States is only a small percentage of the whole population. The greater part of the population are descended from people who have come from all the countries of the world. And out of this amazing melting-pot there has resulted a new civilization, a fresh and challenging people, which calls for a new understanding on our part. Everybody is agreed that a close friendship and understanding between the two great English-speaking peoples is of supreme importance to the world, and this friendship can be greatly helped by the intelligent study of American history in our schools. A suggested syllabus is given, as also a short list of American books suitable as the beginning of a school library. An important little book that should be read by all interested in the peace of the world and the part the education of our young people can play in it.

*Heroes of the Faith.* By Henry Cook. (S.C.M. Press. 5s.)

At such a time as this it is good to have the *Heroes of the Faith* by Henry Cook to put into the hands of our young folk. Just now our Christian Witness is not of the robustest type. Such an unwillingness to pay the price seems to have got hold of us that we are in danger of accepting the prevalent idea that two short snappy services on the Sunday with the emphasis on the 'snappy' and an occasional attendance at some week-night church function is about as much as ought to be expected, and that if we can get even so much out of our young people we are doing splendidly. Well, the Kingdom comes not by such an easy route. Good red blood is made by physical jerks and spiritual sinews by which something can be done for God need, as Edward King, Bishop of Lincoln, puts it, 'Energy, eagerness and the flaming heart'. The author has divided his book into four parts. The first section beginning with Ignatius, and ending with Telemachus, tells of great daring and suffering for great ends. The spirit of daring

is indeed dead if one fails to be thrilled with the words of Ignatius who 'bids all men in the Church of Rome know that of his own free will he dies for God because he is God's wheat—willing to die to become the pure bread of Christ', and the words of Polycarp who, whilst burning in the fire, 'thanks God for being thought worthy to drink the cup of Christ'; and of Telemachus throwing himself into the arena to stop the gladiatorial shows which disgraced both Church and Empire. The second section deals with the early missionaries and takes us back to beginnings in Abyssinia, Ireland and England, ending with an account of the noble strivings of Raymond Lull to win the Moslem world for Christ. The third section, 'Some Teachers', is especially interesting, the author claiming 'that whilst we usually think of Paul as the Master Mind of the Church it was really John who by his emphasis on Christ as the Logos provided for the early Church its most useful suggestion'. The fourth section which ends with a well-written account of Mary Carey, sister of the famous brother William Carey, brings the line of the heroes of the faith nearer to our own times, but not near enough.

The author, writing as he does in a clear and attractive way and having accepted Bishop King's definition of saintliness, 'Energy, eagerness and the flaming heart', might well write another book on the more modern heroes of the faith. One could easily furnish a list of those who in more recent days, from Collier to Chudleigh, have paid the price of discipleship. This is a book one can commend to all who have the care of young people and who are anxious to lift our Christian witness into a braver air.

J. SCARLETT

# Periodical Literature

## BRITISH

**The Journal of Theological Studies** (October).—The article this quarter is headed 'Manichaean Studies', and is by C. R. C. Allberry. This contribution is valuable for its information about the recently discovered Coptic texts and its relation of this fresh material to what was known before about Manichaeism. Five short contributions come under the heading 'Notes and Studies'. Dom R. H. Connolly writes another of his learned and interesting papers, this time about the Eucharistic Prayer of Hippolytus. The second essay is the most valuable paper in the whole number. In it Canon Creed takes up the question of the relation of the *Didache* to *Barnabas* which has been debated so much of late. In recent volumes of the *J. T. S.* important articles by Armitage Robinson and Dom Connolly have argued for the dependence of the *Didache* on *Barnabas* and have proposed a late date for the former. Canon Creed's fascinating study of this tantalising problem must be studied in detail, and his solution considered with great care. Two points may be set down here. Professor Creed is positive that 'there is no literary evidence which requires or even suggests a date for the *Didache* later than the middle of the second century'. It 'has been found to fit in, on the assumption of a relatively early date, with conclusions otherwise attained. It has yet to be shown that it will fit easily into the conditions of any period considerably later than the first three decades of the second century'. Mr. G. R. Driver continues his linguistic and textual studies on the Minor Prophets, Mr. M. Frost discusses two texts of the *Te Deum laudamus*, and Dr. W. E. Barnes has a note of Ezek. xxxvii. 16-17. As usual there is a long series of reviews, the first and longest of which is a critical notice of Dr. B. T. D. Smith's *The Parables of the Synoptic Gospels* from the pen of Dr. W. F. Howard.

**Religion in Life** (Autumn Number).—This well-edited quarterly keeps up its high standard of quality and interest. Two articles stand out in our judgement. One is by Nicolas Berdyaev, entitled 'Marx vs. Man'. The other is by Professor F. C. Grant. Under the heading 'Why Change the Bible?' it has reference to the attempt now being made by an international committee to produce a revision of the Revised Version. Dr. Grant has some excellent criticisms of some of the faults of the R.V. But while recognizing the validity of much that Dr. Grant writes one can only hope that no blind idolatry of the A.V. will allow the committee to overlook such important considerations as those set forth by Lightfoot in his book *On a Fresh Revision of the N.T.*, or by Westcott in *Some Lessons from the R.V. of the N.T.* Dr. F. C. Grant's essay is most timely.

**Religion in Education** for October, 1938, well maintains the traditional standard of interest and value. One of the most startling articles is an exposure of Public School religion by Prebendary Moore Darling, who denies that it commands any influence with adolescents, or that it gives them a sound grasp of the main principles of Christianity. Proposals for remedying the situation are added. Dr. Osborne Greenwood in the course of a scientific article on the relation of Biology to Religion, argues against fortuity as explanatory of the Cosmos and against mechanism as finally interpretative of the phenomena of life. Dr. James Parkes makes a noble plea for the recognition of the Jews as the heroes of the Gospel story and of the early Church. Dr. Anderson Scott continues his scholarly article on St. Paul. There are also valuable contributions on Christian Education in China, and on Psychology in relation to Scripture teaching. Reviews and Notes on New Books conclude an excellent number.

**The Journal of Religion** (October, 1938).—The October issue of the Journal offers three main articles one of which is a sequel. Each contribution is worthy of careful attention. The sequel article by Dr. W. A. Brown further considers 'What America may contribute to the making of an Ecumenical Theology'. He shows how the theologians are meeting the opportunities presented, the likely effect of the ecumenical movement on the future development of theology in America, the contribution that it may make to European theology and the tasks needing immediate attention. It is a frank and worthy statement. The second article is by Dr. J. C. Bennett on 'Evil' as the most acute theoretical problem in, and the most formidable practical obstacle to, the religious life. To its solution there is no short cut and light will come through the consideration of the factors by which the activity of God is conditioned in the world and the discovery of facts that indicate that some forms of evil enter into the formation of a larger good or are part of it. He stresses the importance of overcoming evil. The third study is by M. J. Bradshaw on 'Jesus and the Coming Kingdom' in which the inspirational value of the coming Kingdom is well expressed. The Journal provides a number of critical reviews by recognized authorities whose guidance as to the content and value of recent literature is always important.

**Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester** (Vol. 22, No. 2, October, 1938).—The October Bulletin has particular interest for the student of religion, for several articles bear directly on the work of the Christian scholar. Professor Atkinson writes of the Sator formula and the beginnings of Christianity. Dr. H. J. Fleure discusses Ritual and Ethic in the light of a change in Ancient Religions about 800–500 B.C. in which he appreciates the factors that led to a general but independent outburst of ethical idealism in that period. Dr. Pickering writes of a German mystic miscellany of the late fifteenth century and prefaces his study for a foreword on the value of such a manuscript. The article on the "Imitatio Christi" by Professor Jacob is a valuable estimate of that anthology of the inner life. Dr. Robertson

discusses the unique value of the O.T. for mankind as a record of spiritual achievement. Professor Pear's lecture on 'Personality' is truly popular and will be read with much profit. These, with learned discussions on Anglo-Saxon Charters and a parliamentary debate of the mid-fifteenth century, go to make an excellent issue of the Bulletin, and the whole is an evidence of fine editing and ripe scholarship.

**International Review of Missions** (October, 1938).—This review offers good fare to those hungry for thoughtful missionary studies. The leading article in this issue deals with the present situation in Theology and is written by Dr. O. C. Quick. He points out that there are two methods of interpreting the life, person and work of Jesus Christ, the Hebraic and the Hellenic. The pendulum has forcibly swung to the Hebraic under the influence of Barth. Dr. Chao writes of the future of the Church in China. The perplexity occasioned by different sects and the aversion of the Chinese from formal church worship calls for a deepened church consciousness. The article by Mr. S. A. Morrison calls attention to the apparent failure of Missions to Moslems and indicates the way in which the difficulties encountered may be surmounted. Rev. J. S. M. Hooper's paper on 'The New Regime in India and the Christian Enterprise' is a statesmanlike utterance on the opportunities of missionary work to-day. Two discussions on Co-operative Societies as an economic panacea and a social organization are well written. 'Then and Now' is a study of the Young Church in the First Centuries and To-day and is followed by a paper on the O.T. in the life of the Younger Church. Review articles and book notices complete a good issue.

**The Congregational Quarterly** (October).—Dr. Selbie writes on 'Andrew Martin Fairbairn, 1838-1938'. He says Fairbairn's theology was always rooted in experience: the reflection of God's word and work in history and in the lives and hearts of men. He attributes the great advance in theological teaching during the last fifty years more to Fairbairn than to any other one man. In 'Vocation as the Clue to Ecclesiastical Diversity', Professor W. R. Forrester discusses the marked change in the spiritual climate of Europe and re-asserts the freedom of the individual conscience and the rights of the individual soul. He sees in their vocation the secret of the authority of the prophets, and describes the Old Testament as the Book of the Vocation of Israel. In the New Testament, *Ecclesia* means a society called of God. The Church and the Kingdom of God are meant to be a 'cosmos of callings', where each finds the place and work best fitted to his capacities. A strong case is made for the claim that the genius of Protestantism will always reveal itself in ecclesiastical diversities. Mr. B. L. Manning deals with 'The Hymns of Dr. Isaac Watts'. He knows of no devotional book richer than Watts's hymns and psalms. He thinks Watts had a greater mind than Wesley, a wider outlook, a more philosophic approach to human life and the Christian revelation. But he thinks Wesley the greater artist and that, as a whole, his book

far surpasses Watts's. Professor H. Cunliffe-Jones considers 'The Meaning of Christianity for the Common Man'. Under 'Developments and Experiments' Dr. C. Jeffares McCombe discusses 'A World Preaching Mission' and Mr. H. R. Chillingworth, 'Peace in our Time'. This issue also contains a report of The Congregational Theological Conference on 'The Christian Doctrine of Sin and Salvation' and a remarkable speech, 'What of Collective Security?' by Mr. Raymond Gram Swing, who frankly realizes that while collective security is dead it is for a sadder and wiser world to realize that collective security must live again.

**The Cornhill Magazine**—The Autumn issues of the Cornhill Magazine have maintained each month the high standard set by its editor, Lord Gorell. The authority of the articles and the originality of the stories and poems provided give this periodical a unique place in modern literature. The thoughtful reader turns, time and again, to its pages for information and interest given in good English.

**British Journal of Inebriety.** (October).—This quarterly provides two main articles and a good list of books reviewed and noticed. The first essay is on Auguste Forel and his campaign against Alcohol, which was read before the Society by Dr. J. D. Rolleston. It is a careful survey of the life and work of the famous Swiss specialist. The second article is on Alcohol and Sex by Edward F. Griffith who makes a plea for rational instruction on sex matters. A long note on Definitions of Drug Addiction is written by Dr. C. W. J. Brasher.

### AMERICAN

**Harvard Theological Review** (October 1938).—This number contains four articles. The first is by Giuseppe Furlani, of the University of Florence, and is entitled 'The Basic Aspect of Hittite Religion'. The second, by M. L. W. Laistner, of Cornell University, discusses the question 'Was Bede the author of a Penitential?' Reinhold A. Dorwart of Connecticut State College gives an account of Church Organization in Brandenburg-Prussia from the Reformation to 1740. Louis Finkelstein, of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, has an essay, 'The Oldest Midrash: Pre-Rabbinic Ideals and Teachings in the Passover Haggadah'. This instructive article deals with the well-known service for Passover evening, showing that it is an ancient Midrash belonging to the last half of the third century or the first half of the second century B.C., three hundred years earlier than the date of compilation of any similar tract so far identified. A point of special interest is the way in which this tract changes the punctuation of the words which mean 'A wandering Aramaean was my father' (Deut. xxvi. 5) so as to read 'An Aramaean sought to destroy my father'. The tract belongs to a time when there was a fierce rivalry between Egypt and Syria for the control of Palestine. The Passover celebrations which brought pilgrims to the Temple from all parts of Palestine, and also from other countries, was by its very nature reminiscent of an ancient struggle between Egypt and Israel.

Clearly it was essential that the High Priests divest the ceremony of any implications which could possibly be interpreted as pro-Seleucid. The High Priests had no choice but to change the unfortunate phrase, interpreting it as saying that historically there was even greater bitterness between Israel and Syria than between Israel and Egypt. The essay also brings out the propagandist nature of this tract, as well as its theological and political views.

### FRENCH

**Foi et Vie**, edited by M. Pierre Maury, (39<sup>e</sup> Année. No. 3, 1938).—This number consists of seven articles, each of them coloured by high Calvinistic conceptions. In 'Temoignage de Baudelaire' M. Pierre Chazel characterizes this sombre poet as a prophet (albeit an un-Christian one) proclaiming the fact of original sin. 'He probes the incurable wound of human nature. His lyricism is a long lament or chant of Paradise lost.' For him even the sense of humour is a sign of Satanic dominance over mankind, 'one of the pips in the symbolic apple'. Laughter is in its essence due to pride, to the 'malignant joy of the laughter who thus affirms his superiority over his victim'. This view may be contrasted with that of Bergson in his essay on Laughter. The pity of it was that Baudelaire substituted self-analysis for repentance. Two recent publications by M. Jacques Maritain inspire an inquiry by the Editor, as to the 'Doctrine Chrétienne de l'homme'. M. Maury combats the view that man is naturally good. This may be the view of the new and 'profane' anthropology but it is not that of the Bible, and 'the Bible is the norm of Christian judgment'. A saying of Kierkegaard is quoted,—'In the sight of God man is always wrong'. But the array of Bible passages with which M. Maury supports his contention, though impressive, is not convincing. M. W. A. Visser't Hooft examines the Roman Catholic idea of the unity of the Church as given in an important book by Père Congar,—*Chrétiens Désunis* (Éditions du Cerf, Paris). Père Congar has a more charitable view of Protestantism than has been customary among Roman Catholic writers and he endeavours to give a fair judgement of it. It is comforting to read that 'the Reformation was an essentially religious movement, an attempt to renew the life of the Spirit at its sources', and that to explain it as due to the hankering after marriage and 'a jolly life' on the part of successive reformers is not good enough. M. Hébert Roux gives warm praise to the second volume of Professor F. Lecerc's *Introduction à la dogmatique réformée* which appears seven years after the first volume. Scripture is again affirmed to be 'the source and the unique rule of faith and life'. It is 'the impregnable rock' whose 'organic inspiration', together with the witness of the Spirit, is the 'corner-stone of all Christian dogmatic'.

### ITALIAN

**Il Religio**, edited by Ernesto Buonaiuti (September).—In 'La Visione del Signore nel pensiero ebraico' Italo Zolli discusses two different currents of Hebrew thought found in the Old Testament,

one being the blessedness of the vision of God, the other being that it was not permissible for man to see the face of God. The editor writes on the importance of the basin of the Danube in determining the parties in the Arian crisis of the fourth century. As to the controversy itself Buonaiuti holds that Arianism represented an attempt to reduce the theology and Christology of the Gospel to purely rational proportions. The editor also examines the theories of Robert Eisler as given in his book, *The Enigma of the Fourth Gospel*, and concludes that it is a romance founded on a vague hypothesis of the existence of a certain John the Presbyter. 'Eisler has two gifts,—fantastic originality in his hypotheses and critical virtuosity in believing them.' In 'Storicismo Irresoluto' Adriano Tilgher criticizes the theories of Croce as expressed in his latest volume. The number ends with a poem, 'Amore', by Nicola Moscardelli which in its universal altruism reminds one of the conclusion of Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner'.

(November.)—Adriano Tilgher follows up his criticism of Croce in the previous issue by an attack on the originality of the philosophical theories of Gentile. By an array of quotations Tilgher seeks to prove that these are derived from Hegel and other German thinkers. The editor writes on religious and social ideals of early Christianity, which he holds to have been distorted and confused by the subsequent process of canonization, and especially by the work of Eusebius, who in his *Ecclesiastical History* chose from among the primitive writings those which accorded with his own tastes and predilections. If the primitive message is separated from its distortions and accretions we find that its central idea-force was expressed in the words of Jesus, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand'. Buonaiuti, however, does not indicate very clearly the process by which the original message is to be recovered, nor does he give a very precise idea of the nature of the kingdom of God. It is described as the intervention of God in the life of man with the divine *charisma* of pardon and love. To enter the Kingdom conversion is necessary. One must die in order to live and the conquest of life must be found in the constant giving of it. Among the reviews is one of I. Zolli's book *Il Nazareno*. According to Zolli, 'Nazarene' signifies 'preacher' or 'proclaimer'. One of the 'Spigolature' shows that the Oecumenical movement associated with the conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh is interesting Roman Catholic theologians to an increasing degree. The works of such writers as Père Ortelgel reveal a surprising convergence of opinion with Anglican writers such as Hebert.